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RICHARD NICOLLS, THE FIRST ENGLISH GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.* 1664-1668.

RICHARD NICOLLS, by the right of conquest, became Governor of New York, on the 29th of August, 1664. He was welcomed by the Dutch civic authorities whom he retained in office, and his first act was to direct that the city should henceforth bear its new name; it was no longer "New Amsterdam," but "New York," and the fort was named "Fort James."

Richard Nicolls

Thus our city perpetuates the memory of the last of the Stuarts. But it also recalls the York or Eboracum of the Roman period in Britain, of the historic city whose libraries and schools in the days of Alcuin and Charles the Great began the civilization of modern Europe.

Richard Nicolls, the new Governor, had been the confident and faithful follower of the royal Stuarts. He

was born in 1624 at Ampthill in Bedfordshire; his father, a lawyer, had married a daughter of Sir George Bruce. Nicolls studied at the university, was a good scholar, but in the civil war joined the royalist forces and commanded a troop of horse. He fled with the Stuarts to the continent, became attached to the service of the Duke of York, and fought by his side in the French armies. He came back to England at the Restoration, was a member of the duke's household, and was trusted by him in his most important affairs. Of Nicolls's private character we know little. It is difficult to see how any honorable man could have remained the friend and follower of James Stuart, or could have joined in an expedition so plainly dishonest and piratical as was that against the Dutch in New Amsterdam. But Nicolls seems at least to have been

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

more humane and prudent than most of the dependents of the royal court. He gave to the Dutch the most liberal terms of surrender. He neither robbed nor massacred; he seems to have made little profit from his conquest; and he returned to Europe to die in the service of his master the duke, in the second Dutch war, faithful to the end. To the Dutch inhabitants Nicolls proved a gentle master, and evidently won their good will. No one was injured in person or property. The Court of Burgomasters and Schepens met on the day after the capitulation, and the business of the city went on as usual. The Dutch officials wrote an account of the surrender to the West India Company, in which they very plainly complained of the little care it had taken for their protection, and Stuyvesant sent a defense of his own conduct and a representation of the helpless state in which he had been left. The ship *Gideon* carried away the Dutch garrison, together with these memorials of disaster, and, provided with a pass from Nicolls, bore the evil tidings to the directors. Their utter neglect of the defense of New Amsterdam is certainly almost unaccountable. Had they sent a few frigates to its aid, and some Dutch troops, its fall might have been delayed but not averted. Nicolls, too, dismissed the troops from Long Island and the east, who had been so eager for the plunder of the city and whose loud threats from the "Ferry"

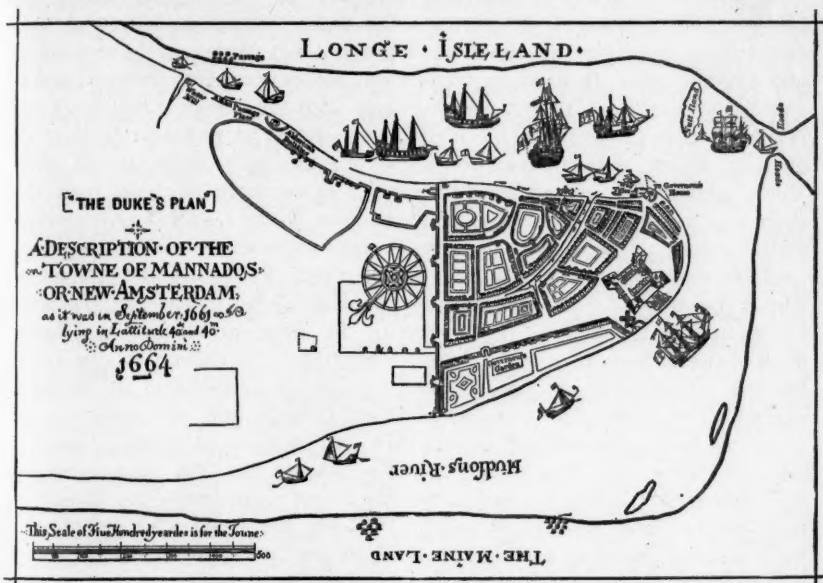
on the Brooklyn side had carried terror to the quiet citizens. He promised rewards to all who had taken up arms for "their King and country;" he thanked the Massachusetts delegates, and he declared that he would soon summon deputies from the Long Island towns to discuss matters relating to its peace and prosperity. The government of the province was renewed by the appointment of English officials. Captain Matthias Nicolls, of Islip, Northamptonshire, a lawyer, who had come with him from England, was made secretary of the province. The council was composed of Englishmen; Delavall, an Englishman, was made collector of the port, but the Dutch city officials were to retain their places for six months or more and administer justice as usual.

The city of New York as it was now to be called, embraced the whole of Manhattan Island. Its population at the surrender was about fifteen hundred, chiefly Dutch. An engraving remains of the appearance of the small town, and a contemporary description of New Netherland, explains and illustrates the picture. The island was covered with woods, meadows, fens, and lakes, and some lofty hills. What is now the Battery was then only a reef of numerous rocks often covered by the tide. Broadway, an Indian path, ran over the highland from the Battery to the Park. The river on the west came up to the hill on which stands Trinity Church. The East River flowed

along Pearl or Great Dock street almost to Broadway. On the narrow point of highland extending from Wall Street to the Battery was the site of the infant city.

In the illustration of 1664 we see a few houses gathered near what is now Whitehall, another group above, perhaps along Broad street; the fort, an earthen work of rude construction, forms the center of the town.

raised at the foot of Whitehall. A few Dutch vessels are anchored in the harbor. A huge rock rises out of the river near what is now the South Ferry. The rocky shore around the fort is without wharves or piers; the rocks are the only landing places; a rowboat is seen sculling over what is now Front and South streets; an inlet offers a safe harbor in Broad street, and a canal and



Above its walls rose the square church steeple, the double roof of the building, a windmill and the roofs of houses. It stood where State street now runs in front of the Battery, on a rising hill. A gallows and a whipping-post, we are told, were

brook open a way into the heart of the settlement. In the interior of the island were farms and bouweries. Broadway or the Heereweg led through the rich land of Domine Bogardus; and the Bowery, another Indian track, passed through hill and

dale to the marshy fields where Stuyvesant hid in his gloomy retirement. A pleasant refuge from the cares and toils of his European home must New Amsterdam have seemed to the Dutch immigrant accustomed only to his native fens and level lowlands, his narrow fields slowly won from the stormy sea by incessant labor and guarded by his patient vigilance. Here in Manhattan and its neighborhood he seemed to live in luxurious plenty. The fertile soil, the chronicler tells us, produced all the fruits and vegetables of Holland in unrivaled excellence. Apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, quinces, medlars thrived better than at home. Vines grew wild everywhere, and there was an abundance of blue and white grapes; a wine was already made from them equal to any Rhenish or French. All the vegetables known to the Dutch filled the gardens of the settlers; corn grew rapidly; the virgin soil was suited to every kind of plant or tree, and flowers of pleasant odors and rare beauty adorned the scene. The picture of ease and plenty drawn by the early travelers to New Netherland must have seemed almost an earthly paradise to the less fortunate Europeans. It was so real as to win back Stuyvesant to his bouwery and to console the Bayards, Beekmans, and their Dutch contemporaries under the rule of their alien governors. No one was willing to go back to the Fatherland.

It was Nicolls's aim to soothe and win the support of his new subjects by a perfect religious toleration. The Dutch ministers were allowed their stipends and their pleasant homes on Beaver and Pearl streets undisturbed. The usual services were performed in the church built by Kieft in the fort. But it was arranged that after the Dutch service was over, the Episcopal should be read by the chaplain of the English forces; and for thirty years, we are told, this practice was observed, the two religious bodies occupying the same building. But the governor had more difficult duties to perform: he was to secure the submission of the wide tract of territory reaching from the Hudson to the Delaware, over which he was expected to enforce the English rule. To assure the control of the Hudson an expedition was sent up in September, under Colonel Cartwright, to reduce to obedience the Dutch settlements at Esopus, Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck. In our golden autumnal days the English for the first time sailed up the broad river, beside the Palisades, through the deep shadows of the Highlands, and reached after a weary voyage the Dutch fort and settlements. No resistance was made; the town was named "Albany," a garrison was placed in it; Van Rensselaer was not disturbed in his possessions, but was required to take out a new title, or to prove his claim in New York.

With Cartwright went Willett of Plymouth, who was to aid him in treating with the Indians and Captain Breedon; his two military aides were Captains Manning and Brodhead. The only opposition they met with at Albany was from the Dutch Councilor De Decker, who was afterwards summarily banished from the province by Nicolls. On their way down the river they landed at Esopus, and were well received. They made little change in the officials; William Beekman was retained in office as sheriff and Thomas Chambers as commissary; Captain Brodhead and an English garrison were left in charge of the fort. So peaceful had been the change to the English rule that no one had yet any reason to complain.

Unfortunately the expedition sent to enforce the submission of Delaware was not so free from blame. Sir Robert Carr, the least reputable of the four commissioners, was placed in command. He wanted wholly Nicoll's prudence and self-restraint. After a long and weary voyage around the capes of Delaware Bay, the frigates arrived in front of Amstel,—now Newcastle,—the chief fort of the Dutch. Carr summoned it to surrender; a part of the garrison would have yielded, but the commander, Hinnoyossa, refused to capitulate. With less than fifty men he resolutely held the fort. The English ships opened their broadsides upon it, the English soldiers

stormed the works, and the place was taken by assault. Three of the Dutch were killed and ten wounded. Then began a barbarous pillage and sack of the Dutch settlement; Carr seized upon the farms of Dutch officials, and kept one for himself; one he gave to his son, and others to his officers. He sold the Dutch soldiers into slavery in Virginia; he sacked the village of the Mennonites, and robbed them of all their possessions. He even declared himself independent of Nicolls and sole governor of Delaware. When Nicolls and his colleagues heard of his conduct, they at once sent orders to him to return. But he refused, and Nicolls went himself to Delaware in November, to repair the wrong. He rebuked Carr and obliged him to give up part of his plunder, but he was still left for a time in charge of the place. The name was changed to Newcastle and a garrison stationed in it under Captain John Carr, the son of the commissioner. Delaware was for several years a part of the province of New York.

The next important act of the governor was to determine the eastern boundary of New York. His wise foresight led the way to the compromise by which all future disputes were settled. Under the charter of 1664, granted by Charles to James, the Connecticut River was made the eastern limit of his territory, and New York would thus embrace more than half of Connecticut, a large part

of Massachusetts, including the Berkshire region, and all Vermont. But Connecticut, by its earlier charter of 1662, was entitled to all the land to the Pacific Ocean,—“the South Sea,” as it was called,—or at least to the borders of the Dutch; and now it pointed out to the commissioners that to limit its boundary to the Connecticut River would deprive it of the best portion of its domain. The Connecticut government, under Governor John Winthrop, had in fact laid out for



JOHN DAVENPORT.

itself an extensive province; it ruled over all the east end of Long Island, it claimed control over “The New Haven Colony” and Stamford, and it had even intruded its officials into Westchester County and occupied a part of New Netherland. But under Stuyvesant a line was drawn limiting

it on the west. New Haven, under Davenport’s guidance, still refused to submit to the Hartford government, and Stamford professed to be independent of both. The quarrel between the rival settlements was at its height when Nicolls, by his prudent compromise, founded the present State of Connecticut.

It furnishes a comic element in history to trace the easy assurance with which the kings of this early age bestowed whole empires of wild lands upon their relatives or dependents and fixed the title to property to which they themselves had no possible right. Charles II., in 1662, had plainly granted to Connecticut a tract of land reaching across the continent; in 1664 he revoked his gift and had presented the larger part of Connecticut to the Duke of York. No one ventured to doubt the royal prerogative. Connecticut, unlike Massachusetts, was too weak or timid to oppose the will of the King. Her officials pleaded chiefly the ruin that must follow to their trade should the grant be confirmed. They showed their earlier charters and claims. But they appealed to the better feelings of the commissioners and found a friend in Nicolls. Had he insisted on the plain words of the patent, New York would have gained a large territory. But he represented to his master the injustice of despoiling Connecticut of the better part of its lands, and induced his associates to yield to his arguments. It was de-

cided that a line should be drawn as nearly as possible twenty miles east of the Hudson.

This decision gave a new impulse to the growth of Connecticut. But still greater results followed from the example of Nicolls. New York yielded the same boundary to Massachusetts that it had given to Connecticut. The line was not run until 1787, and when the dispute arose between New York and the settlers in Vermont as to their rival titles—the well-known controversy of the New Hampshire grants—New York appealed to the charter of 1664 and the settlers chiefly to the line of twenty miles east of the Hudson which had been laid down by Nicolls and his associates. New York abandoned its claim with a graceful compromise, and in 1790 Vermont came into the Union, the only State that had ever from its first settlement condemned slavery as a crime.

At the same time that Connecticut received this addition to its territory it was deprived of its authority on the islands. All except Block Island were included in the grant to the Duke. All Long Island, with Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, were joined to New York. Even Fisher's Island was claimed to belong to it. But the change of government was distasteful to the people of Southold and the Hamptons; they preferred the free institutions of Connecticut.

It was a sight of singular interest when in October, 1664, the chief citi-

zens of New Amsterdam came to take the oath of allegiance that made them subjects of the British crown. At first they offered some opposition, fearing they must renounce wholly their connection with the fatherland; but Nicolls assured them that every article of the capitulation should be strictly observed, and they yielded. The chief citizens within five days hastened to take the oath. Stuyvesant and the two Dutch clergymen led the way; Beekman, the three Bayards, Van Rensselaer, and other leading citizens followed; in all two hundred and fifty of the Dutch inhabitants swore allegiance to the English King. Many did so, no doubt, unwillingly; some refused; but the city authorities joined in a letter of compliment to the Duke of York, praising the "wise and intelligent" Nicolls, and asking that their commerce might be as free from burdens as that of Boston. Nicolls was now sole master of an immense territory. He called the province "New York"; Long Island was named "Yorkshire," and to the fertile lands across the Hudson he gave the name of "Albania." Thus everywhere the faithful follower strove to perpetuate the memory of the Duke of York and Albany.

Meanwhile the news of the capture of New Amsterdam had reached Europe, and De Witt sent over an order to the ambassador, Van Gogh, in London, to demand its restitution from the King. Charles listened to

him with impatience, denying the title of the Dutch to New Netherland, and prepared for war.

Downing, the English envoy in Holland, sent an insolent memorial to the States-General. De Witt insisted that "New Netherland" must be restored. He sent out De Ruyter with a strong fleet to recover the Dutch settlements on the American shore, taken by the English; and Charles in turn ordered his fleet to seize Dutch merchantmen wherever they could be found. Teddeman, the English commander, attacked the Bordeaux fleet and made many prizes. On November 21st, Pepys writes: "The war is begun: God give a good end to it." A fine English fleet put to sea with the Earl of Sandwich on board. But Pepys tells us the English had now begun to fear the Dutch as much as they had once contemned them.

The West India Company, enraged at the loss of their fine possessions in the New World, now sent a summons to Peter Stuyvesant and his secretary, Van Ruyven, to come home and explain the causes of the surrender. Stuyvesant went in May to Holland. He carried with him a certificate of good character from the burgomasters and schepens and a long defense of his own conduct. He threw the blame of the loss of the colony on the West India Company, who had left it without any means of defense, without a single ship of war, and with only a few barrels of powder. He

pointed out his own helpless condition when the English besieged him—cut off from all succor, left alone upon the hostile continent, surrounded by foes on land and sea. He said he would rather have died than surrender. He yielded only to the prayers of the inhabitants and to save women and children from the terrors of assault. To all his arguments the directors of the company replied by violent charges of cowardice and treason. They asserted that he should have fired his guns upon the hostile fleet and sent his troops to dislodge the few companies at the "Ferry." But Stuyvesant was evidently right. He saved the city from sack and perhaps destruction. The Dutch were too few to resist the forces of New and Old England, and the fate of New Netherland was not to be averted. Stuyvesant, after two years' absence, came back to New York to his fond wife and children, his fine bouwery and wide possessions. While in Europe he had prevailed on the English King to allow several ships to carry goods between Holland and New York—a seasonable relief to its trade. He lived in retirement the remainder of his life. He planted the pear-tree on the Bowery which some of us have seen. He died at a great age, and lies buried in the vaults of St. Mark's Church.

But his successor began now to feel the cares and weight of his wide command. De Ruyter was at sea, and every moment a powerful Dutch

fleet might be looked for in the harbor. Nicolls repaired the ancient fort and would have quartered his soldiers on the citizens, but the officials interposed, and provided that each citizen should pay a weekly sum for their support. Stuyvesant paid four guilders a week, others three and two. Yet the soldiers suffered various hardships, and Nicolls complained that owing to the poverty of the city they slept on straw and had scarcely a tolerable bed.



STUYVESANT'S PEAR-TREE.

Nicolls, a bachelor of about forty, was a scholar, fond of quoting Latin, and wrote letters that are full of good sense and good feeling. His mind was active, his knowledge considerable, and in the leisure moments

of his first winter in New York he employed himself in planning a code of laws for his wide domain that should be in unison with the wishes of the Duke and not displeasing to the people. On one point the Duke had insisted—there should be no trace of a popular assembly. Nicolls formed his constitution and laws upon the principle of a perfect despotism. All officials were to be appointed by the governor; all taxes were laid, all laws were imposed by him. There were to be no elective magistrates. There could be no opposition to his autocracy. He was endowed with more complete authority than any Persian satrap or Turkish bey,—a despot, but a benevolent one.

In producing his digest he had studied the laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut and borrowed their best traits. He was humane, and insisted that every one else should be so; perfect religious freedom he granted to all; he would have wrong done to no one. His code was arranged in alphabetical order, like the New England codes, and was known generally as the "Duke's Laws." The Court of Assize met in New York City; trials were by jury; each person was assessed according to his property; all land was held by license from the Duke, and all persons were required to take out new patents and pay a fee when the seal was affixed; all conveyances were to be recorded in New York. These are only a few

of the leading articles. When his code was ready, Nicolls summoned a deputation from all the towns on Long Island to meet at Hempstead on the last day of February and listen to the new plan of government. The deputies, full of expectation, came punctually to the meeting. There were Dutch from the Holland towns, English from the east end,—a respectable list of names, many of whose descendants are still known in their ancient seats. Nicolls, as governor, began the proceedings by reading his commission and distributed among the deputies his code of laws. They no doubt received it with eager interest. But great was the disappointment of those who had lived under the Connecticut charter and elected their own rulers. They asked to be allowed to choose their own magistrates, but Nicolls showed them the Duke's instructions by which all officers of justice were to be selected by the governor alone. The deputies found that they had only assembled to hear the laws of an autocrat. They passed a loyal address to the Duke of York and separated. Nicolls proceeded to appoint sheriffs and other officers for the various towns; but the people murmured; they felt that their liberty was gone.

To amuse them or himself the governor introduced the favorite sport of the English, and founded the Hempstead race-course. The broad plain around the town offered a level, convenient site, well covered with

soft grass; it was known as "Salisbury Plain." The race-course was called "Newmarket," after that famous scene of license in England. Nicolls gave a cup to be run for at the annual meeting in June. Newmarket has long passed away, but Long Island has always been famous for its fine horses and its bold riders, male and female; they may well trace their origin to the sport-loving governor of the seventeenth century.

Besides the conquest of New Netherland, the four commissioners were intrusted with a duty almost equally ignoble. They were to take away, if possible, the charters and liberties of New England. Two separate instructions had been given them,—one to be shown publicly, the other to be known only to themselves. In the first the King expressed his warm affection for New England subjects, directed his commissioners to consult their wishes, win their regard, and act as arbiters of their differences and disputes. In the second and secret one they were instructed to induce them to give up their charters, to allow their governors and officials to be appointed in England, and to reduce them to an entire and perfect obedience to the crown. It seems that by some unknown means the Massachusetts officials had obtained copies of both papers, and were well acquainted with their secret purpose. And hence, when on a fair Sabbath eve in July the English frigates sailed into Boston harbor, they were met

with no eager welcome. The stern Puritan officials received the commissioners with cold civility. Never before had an English frigate sailed into Boston harbor; the event was ominous of change, and Endicott and Bellingham saw with alarm the first footsteps of European tyranny. A second time Maverick and Cartwright now went to Massachusetts. They had gone through Connecticut and Rhode Island and been received everywhere with evidences of respect. But when they reached Boston in February, they met with a worse reception than before. Endicott had now passed away; the sternness of the earlier generation was softening with time. But Maverick and Cartwright soon roused the fierce tempers of the Puritans; they knew their object and contemned them. Bellingham was chosen governor, and Willoughby in the second place, in the face of the commissioners. The people defied them; they read their declaration of rights by the sound of the trumpet, before the house where Maverick and Cartwright stayed. Nicolls came to Boston to their aid by a long and tedious journey, but could be of little use. Massachusetts, "presumptuous and refractory," drove off the royal commissioners.

Cartwright and Maverick went eastward to Maine and Nicolls went back to New York. In June Cartwright sailed for England, carrying with him papers and despatches that would give no favorable account of

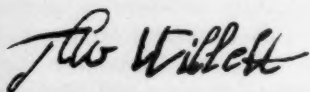
the Massachusetts rulers. His violent temper was roused by disappointment; he suffered from the gout, and he left America in no pleasant mood. But, fortunately for Massachusetts, he was captured by a Dutch privateer and carried into Spain. His papers were lost, and when at last he reached England the dangers of the war engaged all the attention of the English ministers.



SEAL OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

A memorable day now came in the history of New York City, when its Dutch government forever passed away. By a single proclamation of its autocratic governor, burgomaster, schout and schepens were removed from office, and the English system of mayor, aldermen, and sheriff took their place. They have remained ever since—except for the brief period of the reconquest—the officials of New York. It was the 12th of June, 1665, when Nicolls issued his proclamation. "I, Richard Nicolls," it ran, "do ordain that all the inhabitants of New York, New Harlem, and the island of Manhattan are one

body politic, under the government of a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, and I do appoint for one whole year, commencing from the date hereof and ending the 12th day of June, 1666, Mr. Thomas Willett to be mayor." Willett was from Plymouth, a useful and active man. The first aldermen were Delavall, Van Cortlandt, Van Brugh, Van Ruyven, and John Lawrence. The sheriff was Allard Anthony, who had been the Dutch schout. Three of the new officials were English—Willett, Delavall, and Lawrence; four were Hollanders. Yet the Dutch murmured when their old government passed away. They wished at least to retain the right of appointing their successors, but this Nicolls would not allow. With pleasant words he soothed his angry opponents, and on the 14th of June the magistrates took the oath of office and the new government began; the bell in the fort rang three times to celebrate the new birth of the city.



The first meeting of Willett and his associates was on June 15, 1665. The Dutch language was prescribed; the English was to be used in future in all civic matters. To translate from the English to the Dutch, Johannes Nevius was first appointed secretary, and when he resigned Nicolas Bayard took his place.

Seated on his uneasy throne, the ruler of immense regions, peopled by only five or six thousand persons, most of whom were his avowed or secret enemies, with a small garrison and a crumbling fort, Nicolls might well feel at times all the perils of a despot. War began; he was ordered to put his poor stockades in order to resist invasion. He knew that De Ruyter was abroad. Nicolls found himself perfectly neglected by his countrymen at home. No ship from England directly had entered the harbor; no supplies nor soldiers had reached him since the surrender in August, 1664. Nearly a year had passed. He seems to have been in want of everything; money he could only raise by borrowing, and he soon came to be deeply in debt. The cares of his government weighed heavily upon him, and he would have been glad to resign his office. He had given liberal grants of land to his fellow-officers; for himself, he had wasted his private fortune to feed and pay his soldiers, and now war was to still further diminish the resources of his province and cut off what little trade had lingered after the port was closed to the ships of the Dutch.

Suddenly a blow came upon him that he had scarcely looked for, and the larger and fairer part of his dominion was taken from him. Across the Hudson lay the broad tract of territory now known as New Jersey. It was as yet an unknown wilderness; no traveler had penetrated the fertile

wilds where now great cities flourish and railways of unequaled speed bind together the two chief seats of Eastern trade. A few Dutch settlements were struggling for life on the river. Thin tribes of savages roamed over the interior. The country was believed to be fertile beyond Long Island, and the shores of the Hudson rich in furs, fish, and game. But as yet no one had settled on the banks of the Raritan and the Hackensack, and imagination painted the interior country in its fairest colors. Perhaps Nicolls had already planned to obtain a grant of Albania for himself, and hoped to leave behind him to his collateral heirs a fine estate. He had already given tracts of land at Elizabethtown to four families from Jamaica, Long Island, and had confirmed another purchase from the Indians near Sandy Hook. He was evidently preparing to extend his authority over the fair lands of Albania.

GRANTED.

The Duke of York in June, 1664, before the fall of New Netherland, had conveyed all of what is now New Jersey to two court favorites—Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Carteret, brave, passionate, impulsive, had deserved well of his king. When Charles was an exile Carteret had given him a refuge on his island of Jersey, of which he was governor and where his family had

been eminent for many centuries. He had boldly resisted the parliamentary forces and yielded only at the command of his king. He came back at the restoration, to become a favorite servant of Charles and James, and to live forever in his true colors. In the amusing portraiture of Samuel Pepys, no one can forget the bold, fierce controller of the navy, or the rare art with which Pepys brought his son Philip Carteret to marry Lady Jemima Montague.

John Berkeley

Berkeley, too, had deserved rewards and favors. But the grant to the two patentees had been kept secret from the commissioners and was a perfect surprise to Nicolls. The first news of it came to him from Virginia. Here Philip Carteret, a cousin of Sir George, had been driven by storms into the Chesapeake. He had been appointed governor of the new colony, which was to be called New Cesarea or New Jersey, in honor of the Carterets and their native island. Carteret brought with him a letter from James to Nicolls directing him to aid the grantees and give up the province. He obeyed, but evidently with intense disappointment and regret. He even ventured to write a remonstrance to the Duke, pressing him to give Carteret and Berkeley other lands along the Delaware. He urged

that New Jersey was the most valuable part of the Duke's possession, capable of receiving "twenty times more people than Long Island." "I gave it the name of Albania," he adds, and the blow was one that he felt most keenly. Yet it was a most fortunate event for the future progress of the country. Carteret by the "concessions" was able to give free institutions to his people. Carrying a hoe on his shoulder, he landed at the head of thirty emigrants he had brought over and founded Elizabethtown. It was named in honor of Sir George's wife. New Jersey under his liberal government soon began to flourish; New York, however, under the despotic rule of Nicolls, scarcely advanced. Many towns grew up on the Jersey shore: Elizabeth, Perth Amboy, Middletown, and Newark, were settled by active and cultivated immigrants. Carteret had no easy place at the head of his free and turbulent people. He lived amidst perpetual discord. But his temper was mild, his disposition liberal. He married an intelligent and wealthy wife, and lived and died at Elizabeth. To the free spirit of his laws New Jersey owes much of its greatness and of the vigorous growth that has made it always a bulwark of union and independence.

Late in August Nicolls sailed up the Hudson for the first time, surveyed its wild and desolate shores, and reached Albany in safety. He went there ostensibly to quiet the In-

dians, but more probably to observe the conduct of the Dutch inhabitants. He placed Captain Baker in charge of the fort at Albany, with instructions to keep strict watch and discipline, to live in peace with the Dutch, and avoid all disputes and differences. Captain Manning, he removed to New York. He licensed the first English schoolmaster at Albany, one of Baker's soldiers. On his return down the river in October, he stopped at Esopus, where Brodhead was in command, and gave him some wise counsel. He was to be patient, prudent, forbearing. But Brodhead forgot the advice, and was soon in open hostility with the Dutch settlers. At Esopus, Nicolls bought large tracts of land from the Indians. The loss of New Jersey had evidently led him to wish to draw settlers to the banks of the Hudson. He wrote a prospectus, a taking account of the advantages offered to planters under the "Duke's Laws" and of the fertility of the lands. This paper he was obliged to print at Cambridge. Here the only printing press existed in all the English possessions of America; New York had not a printer then.

One of the peculiar traits of the time when printers were few was the trial of Ralph and Mary Hall for the "abominable crime" of witchcraft. It was held before the Court of Assize of New York in October; 1665. A jury of respectable merchants and others was summoned, of whom Jacob Leisler, afterwards so conspicu-

ous and so unfortunate, was one. The sheriff, Anthony, produced his prisoners. They were from Seatacott or Brookhaven, Long Island, and were charged with having procured the deaths of one George Wood by wicked arts and of the infant child of Ann Rogers, "widdow of ye aforesaid George Wood." Several witnesses testified to the facts. "Then the clarke calling upon Ralph Hall, bad him hold up his hand and read as follows: 'Ralph Hall, thou standest here indicted for that, not having the fear of God before thine eyes, thou didst upon the 25th day of December, as is suspected, by some wicked and detestable arts, cause the deaths of the said George Wood and the infante childe.'" The wife, Mary Hall, was summoned in the same way. Both prisoners pleaded not guilty. The jury, who had some intelligence, gave them the advantage of the doubt. Hall was acquitted. Some suspicion, they allowed, rested upon his wife, and he was directed to give bonds for her good conduct. But Governor Nicolls in 1668, with his usual moderation, set them both free. Some years later Katherine Harrison, a widow from Wethersfield, Connecticut, was charged by the people of Westchester with witchcraft. They were anxious to drive her from their borders, but she proved her innocence so clearly that she was allowed "to remaine in the towne of Westchester." New York officials were free from the mad superstition that

covered Old and New England with judicial murders; her juries never condemned a witch.

Nicolls in November wrote to the duke that his government was satisfactory to the people, and that even the republicans could find no cause for complaint. He urged his patron to send over merchant ships, for the trade of the city was nearly lost. Yet he foretold the future greatness of New York; he saw that it must become the chief port of the continent. Hither, he said, and not to Boston, must come the commerce of America. But he complained of the neglect shown towards him by the ministry; no supplies had reached him from England, he had nearly ruined his private fortune to save his soldiers from want, and now he begged to be relieved of his command.

At this moment there was good reason why no troops nor supplies came from England. Charles had entered upon the war with the Netherlands, hoping to crush them easily. At first he had been successful. De Witt had sent out one of the finest fleets the Dutch had ever possessed. It was commanded by Obdam, a brave if not a skilful officer; Cortenær was his vice-admiral, and the most famous Dutch captains, except De Ruyter, who was on a distant expedition, appeared in the fleet. The crews were well fed with increased rations and promised pensions to the wounded and double pensions to their wives and children in case of

death. A great reward was offered to any one who captured a flag-ship. One hundred and three line-of-battle ships, eleven fire-ships and twelve galliots, besides a reserve squadron of forty ships more, all manned by twenty-two thousand men, completed this unequaled armament. All was hope and ardor, we are told by D'Estades, among the Dutch soldiers and sailors; they were full of cheerfulness and certain of success. The English fleet numbered one hundred and nine line-of-battle ships, twenty-one fire-ships, seven galliots, and twenty-one thousand men. The Duke of York, the Earl of Sandwich, and Prince Rupert were in chief command. The fire-ships used in these naval contests were often of great service; they closed with the larger vessels and were then set on fire. The two fleets met off Lowestoft on the Surrey coast, on the 2d of June. A frightful combat followed. Cortenær, the Dutch vice-admiral, was shot early in the battle, and his squadron fled; Obdam assailed the Duke of York on his flag-ship, but his own ship blew up, and all on board were lost. The Dutch were beaten. They fled to their harbors with great loss, and the enraged people met their defeated officers with outcries and ill-usage.

The English were full of triumph. "It is the greatest victory that ever was," wrote Pepys in his secret diary; and the king ordered medals to be struck inscribed "*et pontus serviet*"—"the sea shall obey him." The

English were plainly masters of the sea. But not for a long time. John De Witt was now the ruling statesman of the Netherlands. He formed a happy contrast to the corrupt kings and ministers of his age. Honest, firm, unyielding, pure in morals, an excellent husband and father, learned and the friend of all men of letters, but above all a patriot, De Witt for twenty years, as Grand Pensionary of Holland, led on his countrymen to unusual prosperity. Dutch fleets covered the seas. Dutch commerce supplied the wants of Europe. The cities of Holland were full of activity and wealth, the envy and the models of their contemporaries. But it was as the teachers of republican virtue and simplicity that the Dutch had chiefly alarmed and offended the profligate rulers of France and England. A sense of their own moral inferiority sharpened the rage of Charles, James, and Louis against De Witt and his associates. The republic must be subdued, the monitor blotted from existence, and the conscience of the nations deadened and destroyed. Happily the event was very different, and the corrupt monarchs succeeded only in rousing again an impulse of reform that became at last irresistible.

De Witt, unshaken in defeat, succeeded in awakening the patriotism of his people. He went in person to the fleet, punished the cowardly, rewarded the brave, celebrated the memories of the two brave admirals,

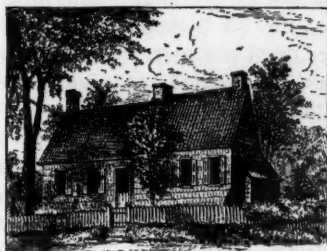
Obdam and Cortenaer. The fleet was fitted out anew, and suddenly the return of De Ruyter with twelve line-of-battle ships, a great number of prizes, and two thousand tried sailors added to the general confidence and joy. The people crowded to see their famous hero, women kissed and embraced him. He received them with all his usual good humor; they hailed him as the savior of the republic. He was made at once admiral of the fleet.

De Ruyter was the chief naval commander of his time. He was born in extreme poverty at Flushing, the son of a brewer's journeyman. He went to sea at eleven as a cabin-boy, was then a common sailor, and soon made his way by his skill and courage to the highest place in the navy. Modest, honest, sincere, amiable, he was often unwilling to take the high positions offered him. He was a faithful friend of De Witt and always eager to obey him. But every one felt his real superiority as a commander and a citizen; his return at once roused his countrymen from their depression. He was of middle stature, we are told, but good figure, his forehead broad, his complexion ruddy, dark eyes and beard, and a grave yet gentle countenance that reflected the brave spirit within. He reminds one of the faithful Batavians who formed the most trusted portion of the Roman legions in Britain.

The war in Europe and its disas-

2

ters prevented any effectual aid from being sent to Nicolls. He was left to his own resources. From his residence in the fort, June 22d, he issued his orders to all the officers, civil and military, of the East Riding of Yorkshire to prepare for the defense of New York. De Ruyter, he said, was about "to attempt the recovery of this place." He directed every town to be ready at the first alarm to send their soldiers in arms to the Ferry opposite New York. A physician and surgeon, Peter Harris, who had arrived in the city about this time, he



THE DE SILLE HOUSE.

Nicollus de Sille

authorized to "exercise his art," by probably the first medical certificate ever given in New York. Nicolls received the news of the great victory off Lowestoft with a satisfaction that was scarcely shared by the majority of his subjects; the Bayards, Beekmans, Neviuses, and others must have heard with secret grief the danger of

the Fatherland. But soon Nicolls found a new cause for anxiety. Louis XIV., who was bound by treaty to assist the Dutch, roused by the boastful claims of the English king, had resolved to interfere. He thought, he said, the Dutch were entitled to New Netherland; he proposed terms of peace which Charles haughtily rejected. Louis then declared war against the English; but his aim was only to weaken both Holland and England and to profit by their disasters. Denmark, too, had formed an alliance with the Dutch, and Holland was no longer alone. An invasion made by the Bishop of Munster into the Dutch territory, with fearful ravages, was checked by the interposition of the German powers.

Nicolls, neglected by his superiors, was next to provide for the safety of his northern domain. The Mohawks were the fiercest, boldest, most overbearing of all the Indian tribes. Cruel beyond belief, cannibals who fed on the flesh of their prisoners, cunning, daring, merciless, they ruled over the lands from Saratoga to Canada, and terrified the other people of the woods into abject submission. It is said that a single Mohawk would by his presence alone subdue a whole tribe of the river savages. They sent their messengers into Long Island and exacted tribute even of the Canarsies. With the Dutch they had been friendly; with the French they waged almost perpetual war. Their massacres and their treachery roused

the French ruler of Canada to revenge. He planned an expedition that was to enter the Mohawk country, destroy their castles and villages, and break forever their haughty

Courcelles

spirit. Courcelles, in the depth of a Canadian winter, gathered his troops for his mad expedition. It was January, the ground was covered deep with snow, the soldiers were often frozen and rendered helpless when they went to pay their devotions at the shrine of St. Michael the Archangel. Even already they dropped frozen and benumbed in the snow and were carried away to places of shelter. But Courcelles persisted in his plan of marching several hundred miles into the wilderness, to burn the Mohawk villages. The soldiers, provided with snow-shoes on which they were to travel, were laden with thirty pounds of baggage; their provisions were carried on sledges drawn by dogs. They passed over the frozen lake of Canada, through Lake Champlain, along the borders of the Adirondacks, and reached the hostile territory. Nearly all the Mohawks had gone on a foray against the Southern savages. But enough remained to annoy the half-frozen but still courageous French.

The guides proved treacherous or incompetent, and led the invaders far away from the Mohawk castles. A

party of Mohawks were seen retreating; the French pursued with sixty of their best fusileers, fell into an ambush, and were shot down by two hundred savages who hid behind trees. The Indians carried the heads of four of the slain to Schenectady, and an express was at once sent to Albany to announce the approach of the French. Courcelles had been led by his guides to within a few miles of the Dutch settlements. He must have wandered for two months at least in the frightful wilderness, his soldiers often dropping by the way. The Dutch received him with kindness, furnished him with wine and provisions, "especially peas and bread." They offered him shelter for his troops, but he was afraid to trust to the luxury of a fire and a home "his weary and half-starved people," who were already too willing to leave their ranks, and with whom he had marched and camped "under the blue canopy of heaven full six weeks." At length, when refreshed and fed, Courcelles turned back to march through the frozen wilderness, still courageous and sanguine. The Mohawks now fell upon their retreating foes, but killed or captured only a few. Five Frenchmen they found lying dead on the way with cold and hunger. They brought back their scalps.

To Nicolls the expedition of Courcelles was a plain invasion of the English territory. He wrote a remonstrance to Tracy, the Governor. He

pointed out that a foreign army had come upon his lands without his permission; but the letter is full of his usual humanity and tenderness. He recalls the days when he and Tracy had served in the French army together with the Duke of York, his master; thanks him for the civilities his countrymen had shown them in their low estate, and signs his letter, "Your affectionate servant." It was this strain of tenderness that marks all his career. Tracy replied with politeness, excusing the error of Courcelles; he had not even heard, he said, that the English were in possession of New York. He thanked Nicolls for his obliging expressions, but said it was his son who had been his acquaintance in the French wars; he signs himself, "Your thrice affectionate and humble servant." Unhappily the French did not remember the kind deeds of the people of Schenectady. The town was the scene of a fearful massacre by the French and Indians in February, 1690.

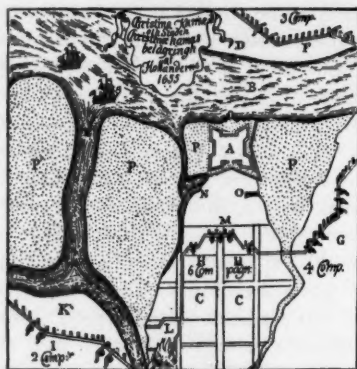
In March, 1666, Nicolls was obliged to forbid the export of wheat from New York, owing to the poor harvest and the quantity furnished to Courcelles. He wrote letters to the duke explaining the unfortunate condition of his province. He thought the Dutch would prove good subjects if they were only allowed some privileges of "time and trade." But the effect of the war and the English navigation laws had been fatal to the

17245
16

commerce of New York. They would destroy and drive away the present inhabitants unless some relaxation of the restrictions on trade were made. Nicolls went to the races at Hempstead in June, and here made a treaty with the chiefs of several Long Island tribes. In these early days an Indian sachem was a high dignitary in the eyes of the white colonists. He was their near and often dangerous neighbor. He lived in his palisaded castle, surrounded by his wives and children, his warriors, and his tribe, like some feudal lord with whom they had been familiar in Europe. From the chiefs they took the title to their lands; with them made peace or war. The great sachems of Connecticut were still unsubdued. The wars of extermination had not yet begun. Nicolls was very successful in his treatment of the savages, and preserved constant peace with them by mildness and generosity.

In respect to the people of the eastern end of Long Island, or the English settlers, he was not fortunate. Southampton, Southold and Easthampton positively refused to receive their local town officers under the "Duke's Laws" and to pay taxes to them. They still regretted the loss of their free meetings, and remembered their disappointment at the assembly of deputies at Hempstead. Some active leaders stirred the popular discontent. Underhill, appointed High Sheriff of the North Riding,

complained that the people were enslaved under an arbitrary government. A very active controversey arose. Censures were uttered, sharp criticisms on the Hempstead meeting, libels, and almost treason. Nicolls, who was a soldier, knew how to enforce obedience: the Court of Assize met and laid down rigid penalties against those who "vilified" any of the officials of his Hoyal Highness, or any of the deputies at Hempstead.



VICINITY OF FORT CHRISTINA.

Sedition was punished by fines and imprisonment. Smith of Brookhaven was put in the stocks for saying the "king was none of his king nor the governor his governor." Richard Woodhull and William Lawrence of Flushing were fined. It is not likely that these severe measurers added to Nicoll's popularity.

Another decree of the Court of Assize, over which the Governor pre-

sided, had nearly produced a rebellion. It directed all persons who held lands under titles from the Dutch Government to have them confirmed under the seal of the Duke of York, and pay the fees by the 1st of April, under penalty of forfeiture. No grants after that date were to be valid. The ordinance was vigorously enforced; nearly all the delinquent towns on Long Island complied except Southold and Southampton, which still resisted, and only submitted some years later. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, who claimed Albany, was warned by Nicolls not to ask too much. The fees and quit-rents gave the Governor some relief.

About this time Charles dissolved the commission which had so long disquieted the colonies. The four commissioners were dismissed with gifts and thanks. Connecticut and the other colonies were praised for their loyalty and submission, but Massachusetts was given only sharp words and bitter rebukes. She was ordered to send over Bellingham and Hathorne to answer for her misconduct. But Massachusetts refused to send abroad her best men; and Maverick, Cartwright, who had now escaped to England, and Nicolls joined in loud accusations against her. The reader may desire to know the fate of these once-powerful commissioners who came to rule and divide the New World among them. Sir Robert Carr, weak and dissolute, went over to England, and soon after

died in obscurity at Bristol. Cartwright was always ready to give his testimony against the colonies. As late as June 21, 1671, Evelyn notices "One Colonel Cartwright, a Nottinghamshire man (formerly in commission with Colonel Nicoll's), who was brought before the council in London, and gave a 'considerable relation' of the 'colonie' of New England." We may well suppose that Cartwright advocated decided measures with the republicans. Maverick we find was granted a house and land on Broadway in New York, at the request of Nicolls. Thus of the four commissioners Nicolls alone remained in office, still more eager than ever to be released. The year 1666 had been a disturbed and dangerous one for the unstable rule of the English in New York. The French were now hostile and ready to invade the English territory. Courcelles and Tracy, at the head of a large force, had penetrated into the Mohawk country, and with terrible ravages had wasted their lands and reduced them to submission. A design was entertained of conquering New York. But Nicolls, undismayed, told the Mohawks to resist the French and tell them they were subjects of the English king. His bold words must have concealed much secret apprehension. All over his territory there was secret or open dissatisfaction. At Esopus the undue severity of Brodhead had nearly roused the Dutch settlers to rebellion. He arrested on some slight provoca-

tion a well-known burgher, the village brewer, a sergeant of its militia. The people gathered in fierce excitement; one of them was killed by a soldier, and Nicolls was only able to suppress the rising by severe measures. He declared that he would proceed against every man "who shall lift his arm against his majesty's garrison as rebellious subjects and common enemies." He censured Brodhead, but did not remove him.

Once more the flag of Holland ruled the seas. In June, 1666, a frightful contest again followed on the narrow seas that were so often stained with useless slaughter. Monk and Prince Rupert commanded the English. The English retreated to their own coasts, but the next day Prince Rupert joined Monk, and again the fierce contest was renewed. De Ruyter gave the signal for a general attack. But the English fleet was too shattered to await it. Monk and the prince retired to their harbors. Some of the finest of the English ships were taken or sunk. Some were lost on the Galloper sands. For a time the Dutch ruled the seas and blockaded the mouth of the Thames. De Witt had already planned a descent upon the port of London. But again the fortunes of war changed; the English vessels, repaired and strengthened, sailed down the river and met the Dutch. Monk and De Ruyter again assailed each other. Tromp, on the Dutch side, broke the line by an imprudent attack, a part of

the Dutch ships fled. De Ruyter, with the remainder kept up the unequal contest, and Monk, surrounding him, had nearly captured his rival. But the Zeeland sands were near; he escaped into the shallow waters, and left the victory to his foes.

The English pursued their victory with unpardonable cruelty. They broke into the harbor of Texel, and burned, ravaged and destroyed. They set fire to villages; they massacred the inhabitants of Flosdorp. Led by a traitor, Heemskerk, they were enabled to enter the Dutch ports; but at the mouth of the Elbe a Dutch squadron turned upon them, burned four of their ships, and drove them from their shores. Soon again the Dutch fleet was at sea, the English retired before it, and in this varying warfare the Dutch were once more rulers of the waves.

England was now weary of the war into which Charles had led it with laughter and hopes of wide conquest, and which had begun with the treacherous capture of New York. King and people were eager for peace. The nation was impoverished and almost ruined. Pepys evidently thought the country was undone, when just at this moment the burning of London seemed to complete its ruin. On September 2d Pepys saw the first faint glow of fire in the east. The summer had been hot and dry, and a strong east wind fanned the rising flames. They leaped from

house to house, consumed churches, warehouses, the Exchange and St. Paul's and for three days the city was wasted and destroyed. Two hundred thousand of its people lived in tents or in the open air in the fields. Stupefied and hopeless, the ruined citizens surveyed the wreck of their city. "London," wrote Evelyn, "was, but is no more."

and were the theme of conversation, no doubt, in every bouwery and every hamlet of the Dutch. It is not to be supposed that the Stuyvesants, Bayards, De Peysters and Jacob Leisler, had not watched eagerly the course of events in Europe or shared in the general pride with which their countrymen looked up to John De Witt. The dangers that now gathered



ADMIRAL VON TROMP.

These events were necessarily felt in America; they stimulated Massachusetts to new courage, while she sent aid to the suffering people in London; they were told in New York,

around Nicolls aroused him to new exertions. A Dutch fleet under Krynssen in March, 1667, recovered Surinam, sailed along the Southern coast, entered the James River, and

captured twenty-six English vessels, one of them a man-of-war. He did not visit New York, or it must have fallen easily into his hands. But he stripped Virginia of its chief wealth and carried home eleven ships laden with tobacco. Nicolls, alarmed, at once began new preparations for defense. He could not venture to put arms in the hands of his Dutch subjects, but he sent orders to the English settlers on the east end of Long Island to form one third of their militia into cavalry, ready to aid him at his first summons. Connecticut, fearful of a French invasion, also armed itself. Massachusetts stood proudly aloof. But Nicolls sent out some vessels under Exton, who seized and burnt French forts in Acadia and brought some prizes into New York.

Courcelles was now governor of Canada, and much might be feared from his activity, if not discretion. The Mohawks again formed a barrier for the English colonies on the north, and the rest of the Iroquois protected the western boundary. Nicolls was at Albany in October for the purpose of preventing a war between the Mahicans and the Mohawks. Massachusetts interfered and forbade the Mohawks from making war upon the civilized Indians. The government of Boston could not have forgotten the part Nicolls had taken in the royal commission. From them he could only look for perpetual ill will. Utterly helpless amidst his many foes, Nicolls still maintained a bold

attitude, showed no trace of alarm, and promised his patron in England to die in defence of his crumbling fort and wretched palisades. But he knew that the fate of New York must be decided in Europe, and towards the autumn came news of the expedition planned by De Witt for the invasion of England and the capture of London itself. He had careful surveys of the entrance to the Thames, which he had long studied himself, and knew that a bold attack would be successful. A fine fleet of sixty-six war ships and ten fire ships set sail in June to surprise the English capital. De Witt had intended to go with it himself: had he done so London would probably have fallen. But he was detained by the negotiations at Breda, and sent in his place his brother Cornelius, with rigid instructions to lose no opportunity of conquest—to dare everything for the sake of victory.

At last, after much duplicity on the part of Charles and many humiliations, the treaty of Breda was signed and peace proclaimed at London on the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew's day. By its provisions New York was to remain English, the Dutch taking in exchange for it the island of Poleron and Surinam. The bells rang in London, but there was no rejoicing among the people. They felt their guilt and shame. In Holland all was joy and hope.

De Witt, the saviour of his country, and De Ruyter, its hero, were covered

with the applause and the gifts of their fellow-citizens. Numerous medals were struck in commemoration of the peace. On one was inscribed in Latin: "When God is angry there is war, when appeased peace." It is thus that men attribute to an unseen power the evil results of their own savage passions; the lesson of every war is that it ought to be the last.

Holland, the last refuge of European freedom was thus permitted a few years of repose from the malice of its royal foes. Four years later began the great war that the kings of France and England planned, hoping once more to overwhelm the republic in endless ruin. Amsterdam, amidst the inundations and the friendly waves, kept alive the spirit of freedom. The kings were driven back discomfited. William of Orange appeared the representative in many traits of character of the genius of his native land. And fifteen years later he carried to England the Dutch principles of honesty and toleration, and laid the foundation of the future greatness of the English race in Europe and America.

By the treaty of Breda, Nicolls too was relieved of his many cares. He was recalled with kind and flattering words from the King and his ministers. Francis Lovelace was appointed governor in his place. He remained for some time in New York, with his usual good nature, to aid Lovelace in his new duties. He rewarded some of his subordinates with gifts

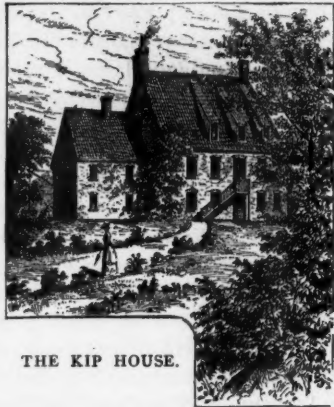
of islands and tracts of land. With Lovelace he visited Albany in July. He arranged the affairs of the Delaware province. He granted thirty lots of land to each soldier of the garrison of Esopus. He did some favors for Stuyvesant; at last when he was to leave forever the city he had named and declared a body politic, of which he had been the gentle conqueror, the lenient master, he was evidently followed by the good will of the citizens. They parted from him with respect and regret. In August, 1668, Nicolls sailed for England, to resume his place by the side of his master the duke, and probably to regret at times the simplicity and the sterner virtues of the people he had left behind.

We should be glad if we were able to enter the city of New York and discover the amusements, the labors and the manners of its people. It could not have made any advance in the four years of Nicolls's rule. It wanted the free impulse, the sentiment of personal independence that had made Connecticut and Massachusetts already populous provinces, while New York had only a thin and scattered population. In the New England colonies there were already forty thousand inhabitants; in New York only five or six. Under the rule of the West India Company it had been allowed none of those privileges of self government that in Holland, the Fatherland, were the choicest treasures of the people. Its lands

had been distributed into great estates, under patroons who aspired to be feudal lords and who drove off immigration, and nearly all lost their possessions. The Dutch governors had been autocrats: the people had neither rights nor power. Under the rigid instructions of the Duke of York that system had been necessarily continued by Nicolls, and the people felt and complained that they were enslaved. Immigration turned away to Connecticut and New Jersey. In seven years, Andros tells us later, not twenty families had come to New York from England or Ireland.

The trade of the city was chiefly in wheat, furs, and provisions; it sent its ships to the West Indies and brought back rum and molasses. Wines were imported from Madeira. But ships came seldom from England. Formerly it had exported large quantities of tobacco from the Southern colonies to Holland; but this trade died out. Its imports of "Indian goods" must have been considerable. They consisted of blankets, woolens, guns, powder, lead; in return they were paid for in beavers and other furs. It was chiefly by the fur trade and the activity of the Indians that New York and Albany were said to live. Six or seven sloops sailed between the towns up and down the Hudson and carried the peltry and Indian goods. It was a far longer and more dangerous voyage in those early days than is now the voyage to Europe.

Of our ancestors and predecessors, the diligent men who cultivated the farms of New York or carried on its trade, we know little. They were a hardy, bold, determined race, fierce in rage, resolute of purpose. The Dutch burghers bore with impatience the English rule, and in 1673, at the reconquest, four hundred of them rose in arms, to aid their countrymen, and drove the garrison from the fort. But this feeling soon died away



THE KIP HOUSE.

under the later rule of William of Orange, and the Dutch became quiet citizens. At the close of Nicolls's administration we meet with many well-known names, English or Dutch, still preserved among us. Of the Dutch were the Van Cortlandts, the Bayards, Van Rensselaers, Stuyvesants, Kips, and many others. The Kips had a fine house and estate at Kip's Bay; the Beekman's, at Cor-

laer's Hook; two of the sons of Peter Stuyvesant held two fine lots of land below Trinity Church which he had given them. Van Der Grist's house was on Broadway, just below. The ground where Trinity Church now stands was known as the "Governor's Garden." Wall street was only a line of palisades, Lovelace afterwards purchased the farm of Domine Bogardus; it came into the possession of the crown, and was then given to Trinity Church. Of the scanty English population many names survive. Matthias Nicolls, the Secretary, left some descendants. Willett, the first mayor of New York, was very much liked by his contemporaries, and the name is still well known. John Lawrence, a merchant from Long Island, held various important offices, and left several descendants. Allard Anthony, the Dutch Schout and English Sheriff, is commemorated in Anthony street. Van Brugh and Van Ruyven, the first Schepens under Nicolls, are lost in collateral lines. Robert Livingston was Indian agent in Albany; and many other well known names

have come to the city from the banks of the Hudson.

Nicolls returned to England to mingle in the pleasures and pains that followed the royal court. It is hardly likely that he could have found any satisfaction in them. He may have gone in retirement to Ampthill, his ancestral seat. He never married. He had two brothers who died before him. One of his uncles was Dean of Chester, and several of his relatives were noted scholars. When the second Dutch war broke out, he went on board the fleet, served on the Royal Prince, and was killed at the battle of Solebay, May 28, 1672. He was then forty-seven years old. In his will, which is dated on board the Royal Prince, May 11, 1672, he gives various legacies to his cousins and seems to have not been in want of money. He was buried at Ampthill. He will be remembered as the first English governor of New York, the first to point out the rare advantages of its situation and foretell the future greatness of the metropolis of the New World.



A DIRECTORY FOR THE CITY OF NEW YORK IN 1665.

'T MARCKTVELT (east side of Bowling Green, now the beginning of Broadway).

The Hon. Peter Stuyvesant,
Annie Kocks,
Capt. Martin Crigier,
Francois Boon,
Cornelius Van Ruyven,
Antony De Milt,

Allard Anthony,
Frederick Arentsens,
Lizzie Ackermans,
Jonas Barteltsen,
Matty Grevenraat,

HEEREN STRAAT (now Broadway).

Luke Andriessen,
Dirck Wiggerzen,
Paul Leendertsen Vandiegrist,
Henry Van Dyck,
Jacob Swart,
Thomas Major,
Abraham Pietersen,
Garret Fullwever,
Pieter Simkam,
John Fries,
John Jelizen Kock,

John Henry Van Gunst,
Peter Ebel,
Paul Turck,
Albert Jansen,
Martin Hofman,
Alida Unstaples,
Barbara Unstaples,
John Joosten,
Adam Onclebagh,
Peter Jansen,
Adrien Andriessen.

THE STRAND (along the North River).

Jacob Leendertsen Vandiegrist.

THE CINGEL, OR OUTSIDE CITY WALL (north side of Wall street).

John Johnson Van Langendyck,
John Teunizen Molenaar,
John Videt,
Abraham Kermer,
Gertie Schoorsteenvegers,

Jacob Jansen,
Dirck De Wolspinder,
Barent Eghbertzen,
Peter Jansen,
Dirck Van Clyf.

DE WAAL (south side of Wall street).

Guliam d'Honneur,
Henry Obe,
Balthazar De Haart,
Charles Van Brugghe,
Garret Jansen Stavast,
Hans Stein,

Sybrant Jansen Galina,
Cornelius Jansen Van Hoorn,
Adolph Pietersen,
Jacob Hendricksen Varravanger,
Renier Rycken.

HOOGH STRAAT (Pearl, between Broad and Wall streets).

Annie Litsco,
John Laurens,
Andrew Joghimsen,
Abraham Lubbertsen,
Remout Remoutsen
Govert Loockermans,
John Van Brugh,
Wernaer Wessels,
Dirck Jansen Vandeventer,
Jeremiah Jansen,
Abraham Clock,
Isaac Bedlo,
Evert Duyckinck,
Stoffel Hooghlant,
Abigail Verplanck,
David Joghimsen,
Asher Levy,
Barent Cours,
Arian Huybertsen,
Wessel Evertsen,
Arent Isaacsen.

Cornelius Jansen,
Cornelius Jansen Plagvier
Cors Jansen,
Henry Asuerus,
John Nevius,
Peter Jansen Schol
Nicholas De Meyer,
Hugh Barentsen Clem,
Walraven Claerhout,
Frederick Hendricksen,
Alexander Stultke,
Sybout Clazen,
Arian Van Laar,
Aldert Coninck,
Jacob Van Couwenhoven,
John Van Couwenhoven,
Lambert Barentsen,
Henry Vandewater,
Lawrence Vanderspygel,
Walter Salter,

'T WATER (now west side of Whitehall from State to Pearl street, and north side of Pearl from Whitehall to Broad, then facing the river).

Hans Dresser,
Francis Jansen Van Hooghten,
Nicholas Jansen Backer,
Samuel Edsal,
John De Witt,
Jurian Jansen Van Auweryck,
Herman Wessels,
Timothy Gabry,

Matty Wessels,
Paul Richards,
Lawrence de Sille,
Hans Kierstede,
Jacob Laislar (Leisler),
Arian Appel,
Daniel de Honde Coutrie.

PEREL STRAAT (Pearl street from State to Whitehall streets).

Peter Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven,
Henry Jansen Vandervin,
Jacques Cousseau,
Peter Aldricks,
Thomas Coninck,
Henry Bas,
Garret Van Tright,
Peter Cornelissen,
Claas Bordinck,
John Gerritsen Van Buytenhuysen,

William Kock,
Esterne Guineau,
Waldwin Vanderveen,
Thomas Fransen Karreman,
Jurian Blanck,
N. Tybout,
Peter Jacobsen Marius,
Thomas Lambertsen,
Thomas Laurens.

BEHIND THE PEARL STREET (now the part of State street curving to the south).

Simon Barentsen,
John Schouten,
Isaac Grevenraat,
John Evertsen Bout,

Peter DeRymer,
John Dircksen Mayer,
Louis Post,

BROUWER STRAAT (now Stone street).

Frederick Flipsen,
Ranier Willemsen Backer,
Matthew De Vos,
Jerome Ebbinck,
Isaac De Foreest,
Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlant,

John Jansen Van St. Obin,
Isaac Kip,
Frederick Gysbertsen Vandenbergh,
Hubert Hendricksen,
Evert Pietersen

WINCKEL STRAAT (running parallel to Whitehall street, not now in existence).

Henry Jansen Backer,
Arent Juriansen Landtsman,
John De Peister (De Peyster),

Michael Esnel,
Ægidius Luyck.

BRUGH STRAAT (Bridge street).

Cornelius Steenwyck,
Barent Jacobsen Cool,
Jacob Vermont,
Jacob Teunissen Kay,
Henry Kip, Sr.,

John Adriaansen Duyvelant
Henry Willemsen,
Peter Jansen,
Peter Nys,

HEEREN GRAFT, OR GRACHT (Broad street, with canal in center).

Cornelius Melyn,
Ambrose De Weerhem,
Teunis Kray,
Simon Jansen Romeyn,
Luke Dircksen,
Bartholdus Maan,
Stoffel (Christopher) Van Laar,
Claas Paulussen,
Nicholas Verbraack,
Peter Winster,

Conrad Ten Eyck,
David Wessels,
Aggie Jans, widow of P. Van Naarden,
Nicholas Du Puys,
Joachim Beekman,
Jacob Backer,
Albert Reuninck,
Simon Felle,
Adrian Vincent,
Teunis Davidts,

PRINCE GRAFT, OR GRACHT (now the part of Beaver street one block east of Broad, with canal or creek in center).

Boile Roelofsen,
Nicholas de la Plaine,
Cornelius Barentsen Vanderhuit,
Jacob Mens,
Paulus Andriessen,
Abel Hardenbroek,
Thomas Lodowycksen,
John Hardenbroek,
Jacob Kip,

John Arentsen,
Rutger Karreman,
Frederick Hendricksen Boogh,
Claas Tyzen,
Dennis Isaacsen,
William Abrahamsen Vanderberde,
Bay Roosvelt,
William Deturnier (Turneur ?).

PRINCE STRAAT (next block east in Beaver street, beyond the canal).

Albert Pietersen Swart,
Daniel Verveelen,

Garret Manate,

BEVER GRAFT, OR GRACHT (Beaver street, west of Broad to Bowling Green, with canal or creek in center).

Roelof Jansen Van Meppelen,
Henry Van Bommel,
Dirck Storm,
John Jansen Van Brestee,
Egbert Woutersen,

Egbert Meindertsen,
Thomas Sandersen,
Teunis Tomassen Quick,
Jacob Teunisen.

'T MARCKTVELT STERGIE (Marketfield street).

Claas Van Elsant, Sr.,
Isaac Abrahamsen,
Andrew Claassen,
John Van Gelder,

Alice Barens,
Lambert Henry Van Campen,
John Adamsen,
John Meindertsen,

SMEE STRAAT (William street between Broad and Wall streets).

Meindert Barentsen,
Gertie Jans,
John Roelofsen,
George Dopsen,
Andrew Rees,
Immitje, widow of Francis Clazen,

William Van der Schuyr,
Andrew Andriessen,
Cornelius Hendricksen,
Garret Jansen Van Aarnhem,
John Woutersen,

SMITS VALEY (along the East River from Wall to Fulton street).

Thomas Hall,
Abraham Verplanck,
Lambert Huybertsen, Mol,
Abraham Lambertsen Mol,
John Vigne,
Stoffel (Christopher) Elswart,
Joost Carelsen,
Harry Bressar,
Widow of Lawrence Laurensen,

Peter Laurensen,
John Ariaansen,
Cornelius Jansen Clopper,
Peter Harmsen,
Peter Jansen,
Martin Claassen,
John Jansen Bos,
James Wel,
Augustin Herrman,

OUTSIDE THE LAND GATE.

Dirck Siecken,
Cornelius Aarsen,
Peter Stoutenburgh,

Garret Jansen Roos,
Jacob Fransman.

INDIAN TRADING HOUSE OR FACTORY SYSTEM.

The Indians who occupied the region westward from the Alleghany mountains were, when visited by the earliest white adventurers, in a state of almost perfect commercial independence. Their knowledge of the useful arts though limited was commensurate with their wants and desires.

That there were inter-tribal relations has been attested by many travelers of the time. These relationships often proved of inestimable value to the early "French voyageurs, who, as early as the year 1634 began to make their circuitous and dangerous ways along the various water routes in the old northwest territory."

There seems to have been no plan pre-determined by the government of France for traffic with the Indians. Inasmuch as the departure of the traders from the early settlements tended to reduce the settlement to want, limitations were placed upon the numbers who were to be allowed to go. Nevertheless a distinct trading class arose called "wood rangers" who gained a great influence over the simple-minded savage.

The Jesuits accompanied these vagrant hunters and trappers, or followed them closely, establishing their missions or making careful exploration. French authorities finding they could not keep the traders from the woods, issued annual licenses for trade. Soon many forts were established along the several streams flowing into the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico.

The victory of the Iroquois over the tribes of the northwest led to the ascendancy of the English power. The methods of the English private traders were not materially different from those pursued by the French.

The British agents gained an ever increasing influence over the western tribes, and through presents and bribes induced them, in the year 1775, to form a league against the United Colonies.

The first phase of that ever recurring question, which has taxed the minds of our greatest statesmen, was then suggested: how shall the Indian be treated, that justice may be done him and his friendship be secured? Congress strove to avert the calamity by convincing the Indians that their wisest plan was to estab-

lish perfect neutrality, as the struggle did not in any way affect them. Nothing illustrates the anxiety of Congress at this time, to effect its views, in a stronger way than does the plan embodied in the Treaty of Pittsburg, concluded in the year 1778. According to stipulation here made, the Delaware tribes were to be allowed, in conjunction with other tribes, to form a State which was to become a member of the Union. This enviable position seemed to weigh lightly on the minds of the Indians, in comparison with the "presents, arms, equipments and trinkets, so profusely scattered by the British agents of the time."

There was provision made, by an act of the year 1786, that none but citizens of the United States were to reside among the Indian tribes or to be allowed to trade with them. Citizens were not allowed these privileges without a license obtained for that purpose. Accompanying the license was a bond for three thousand dollars, which, besides all merchandise held, was to be forfeited if all regulations were not faithfully kept. Not materially different from these were the provisions of the acts of the years 1793 and 1796. Said Calhoun with reference to these acts: "But guarded as was this system, and well adapted as it certainly promised to be to the objects contemplated by it, the cunning of the traders was an overmatch for its provisions, and the Indians thus given into the hands of the un-

principled, were subjected to all the sufferings which avarice could inflict, and their peace and welfare involved in the scheme, involved in their turn the shedding of much blood and the waste of many lives." That the system of individual traders, in so far as it dealt justly with the Indians was a failure, is thus attested through the witness of the trials and failures of French, English and Americans.

How to establish a satisfactory system led to the formation of a plan whereby the United States government entered the field as a private trader and carried on commercial intercourse with the Indians. This scheme, in vogue from 1796 to 1822, known as the Factory or Trading House System early met with approval, but also showed its weaknesses.

Public "truck-houses" had been established in some of the colonies. The first mention of public trading-houses under general governmental control seems to have been made by Benjamin Franklin. In a letter, referring to his plan of union he says: "The friendship of the Indians is by every means to be established. In the furtherance of this end, public trading-houses should be established. They would certainly have a good effect towards regulating the private trade and preventing the impositions of the private traders, and therefore such houses should be established in suitable places all along the frontiers."

In the year 1776, Congress accepted

the report of the committee, of which Franklin was a member, and voted 140,000 pounds to be expended in goods for this trade. The trade was to be under control of congressional commissioners.

Washington favored this plan. In each of his annual addresses he urges upon Congress the necessity for the safe establishment of such a system. The fifth annual address of December 3, 1793, says: "Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations, on behalf of the United States is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies; with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic unless they be allured by the hope of profit, but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only."

In the year 1795 an act embodying Washington's suggestions was passed. It was to remain in force two years. The President was to have the privilege of establishing trading-houses at such posts and places on the western and southern frontiers as he should deem necessary for carrying on a liberal trade with the Indians. To meet this end \$150,000 were appropriated. The friends of this act do not seem to have re-

garded it as chiefly a civilizing agent. They wished to accomplish two objects: "To secure the friendship of the Indians by supplying their wants; to supplant the British trader in his influence over the Indians."

We learn from the report of the secretary of war for the year 1795 that two trading-houses were established as an experiment among the southern tribes. The tribes at the North had not yet come into friendly intercourse. One of these houses was located among the Creeks at Colerain on the river St. Mary's. The other supplied the Cherokees and Chickasaws, and was located at Tellico Block House, in Cherokee Territory. The positions were chosen from the Indian possessions, but were not to become the property of the United States. They were to revert to the original owners when no longer used for trading or for military posts.

The Indians were given to understand that the trade now to be carried on among them was entirely different from that conducted by individuals, solely for their own profit. Trade was to be regulated by the President. Every article should have its stipulated value. Weights and measures were to be introduced, in order that the hunters might bring their peltries and receive satisfactory exchange. Agents were to be appointed by the President, to obtain goods from the manufacturers at the cheapest rates and to carry them to the

trading-houses and there dispose of them, with but the additional charge of carriage. Where licensed traders procured the goods from the factors, a stipulated amount for wages was allowed the traders. The prices at which they must sell were to be posted in every village.

By the year 1801 there had been but \$90,150 of the original appropriation drawn from the treasury. There was no adequate report of the trade up to this time. While there may have been some advantages in the system, in that it attached the natives more closely to the government and tended to remove the animosities excited by private traders, these good results were not sufficient to warrant a continuation of the act. Congress nevertheless thought it expedient to extend the time, using the same capital.

Jefferson on the renewal of the act, recommended, as one of the chief agents for reducing the savages to civilization, that the trading-houses be multiplied, in order that those things might be placed within their reach which would contribute more to their domestic welfare than the possession of "large, but uncultivated wilds." In his third annual message he spoke of the system as having a very conciliatory and useful effect upon the Indians. The message for the year 1804 contains the same unquestioned approval. He says: "Instead, therefore, of an augmentation of military force proportional to our

extension of frontier, I propose a moderate enlargement of the capital employed in that commerce, as a more effectual, economical, and humane instrument for preserving peace and good neighborhood with them." The message for 1805 refers in a most hopeful way to the satisfaction manifested by the Indians of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys, with their governmental relations, and of their desire to cultivate peaceful terms with the United States.

The original time had now expired, but there was no thought of a discontinuance of the system. At the close of the year 1811, there had been appropriated \$300,000, exclusive of officers salaries which amounted to some \$35,000 annually. Ten factories had been established with the following sites: Ft. Hawkins, Georgia; Chickasaw Bluffs, Mississippi Territory; Ft. St. Stephens on the Mobile River; Ft. Osage on the Missouri River; Ft. Madison on the Upper Mississippi River; Natchitoches on the Red River; Ft. Wayne on the Miami River; Chicago then in Indiana Territory, and Ft. Michillimackinac on Lake Huron.

It is estimated that the amount of money gained in these factories from 1807 to 1811, was \$14,171. The southern factories reported losses because of greater difficulty of communication with the sea coast, and thus with the European markets.

That there were many advantages in this system seems sufficiently at-

tested, not alone from the unqualified statements of Presidents and other United States officials, but from its actual continuation for twenty-six years during these times of governmental weakness and financial strain. Among the more noteworthy merits were: The superior trade advantages which it held out to the impoverished race for whose benefit it was established, and the ease of access by such methods to the confidence of the Indians.

At the beginning of the year 1812, when the plan seemed most satisfactory, signs of failure were apparent. The causes for this peculiar failure are numerous. They show the general weakness of the government at that period. One of the chief causes of the failure was the greater influence over the Indian always held by the English. Their governmental treatment of the Indian was thought to be almost perfect. No person was eligible for the position of agent under the English regime unless he was able to speak at least one of the Indian languages. An agent thus equipped, might easily learn the peculiar manners and customs of the tribe. He soon became influential with the different "head-men" with whom he dealt. Many of the Americans who were appointed to important positions were men who had not "seen an Indian, much less did they know how to conciliate him in trade." The English gave all officers of the Indian Department military brevet rank, and

caused them to wear military insignia. This relative rank obviated many difficulties by making uniform the various measures. Flashy clothes and gilded trappings had no little influence on the minds of the natives. "The highest British officials thought it not derogatory to their interests, to smoke the pipe or converse with the chiefs." They thus rid themselves of the evil influences of designing interpreters.

Trading houses were established in conjunction with military posts. The relative importance of the officials in each of these had not been clearly defined, and much embarrassment arose from conflicting orders. The superintendents were too often uninterested in their duties, and turned the official work over to less competent persons. The English made many presents to the Indians. When the Indians came to the understanding that the goods distributed throughout the factories were not to be given them; "they lost confidence in a father whom they thought so poor that he was compelled to descend to the position of a private trader." The government attempted to use the methods of the English. Either the amounts voted were insufficient or there was so great delay in transferring even these scanty means to the agents, that they inevitably lost control of the chiefs. A manuscript letter from the agent at Fort Michillimackinac refers to these presents: "From the issue last July to twenty-five chiefs, I am

persuaded that no good can possibly result from this method, and it is productive of much heart burning and discontent. Those who receive their small allowance are scarcely satisfied either with the agent or the government, and those who can receive nothing, openly profess themselves dissatisfied with both."

The English government is reported to have spent 200,000 dollars annually in presents, at the two posts, Malden and Pennaton.

The goods used in the trading-houses were inferior to those of the traders and less fitted for the trade. A committee of investigation reported a large portion of the stock to consist of "men's and women's coarse and fine shoes, worsted and cotton hose, tea, glauber's salts, alum, anti-bilious pills, green silk, fancy ribands, and morocco slippers, without which collection, the good health or good appearance of the Indian seems not to have been assured."

It was explicitly provided that no white man should be allowed to purchase stores from the factors. Nevertheless private traders were continuously equipped from them. The factors often sold to the English.

Credit was prohibited at the trading houses. As the Indians could not pay their debts until the close of the hunting season, they were unable to obtain goods. The private traders accompanied them to the hunting grounds where barter might be most thoroughly resorted to. Express provision was made that there was to be no profit in the trade carried on by the government. Goods were sold at rates sometimes forty per cent in advance of the original cost. Among the instructions sent out was one which forbade absolutely, the carrying on of any "trade commerce, or barter" on behalf of the factors themselves. They gave bonds to the government, with satisfactory security, in the sum of \$10,000, that they would perform all their duties faithfully and would return accurate accounts. Many were supposed to have grown rich in the service.

After a consideration of the many abuses and manifest weaknesses of the system, Congress in the year 1822, abandoned the trading houses. Heavy losses were reported. The last few years of their existence show an annual loss to the government of \$40,000.

J. A. JAMES.



THE VOYAGE OF THORGILS, AND HIS ADVENTURES ON
THE EAST COAST OF GREENLAND
ABOUT THE YEAR 1000.

INTRODUCTION, BY DR. B. F. DE COSTA.

Geologists inform us that the "New World," so-called, is actually the "Old World," and that a mountain peak in the Carolinas was the first object that arose out of the primeval sea. Here on the Western Continent animals first made their appearance, and at an early period went out across a bridge of land that once existed at Behring Strait, spreading over the Eastern Continent. The present theory holds that man had his origin in the East, but, as "science" has a new story to tell every year, it may yet become necessary to abandon the old formula, "Who discovered America," and inquire "Who discovered the Eastern Continent?"

Agas before Columbus, adventurers found their way to this continent, but we inquire in vain for the record of their achievements. The Phœnicians, the Chinese, the Irish, the Northmen, the Welsh, the Italians, and the Basques were all active in Pre-Columbian times, and there is nothing to prove that *any* of them failed to reach America. The Irish, however, have the first claim, as their early

achievements form a part of written history. The Northmen were indeed on the Atlantic coast in the year 986, but their own records affirm that the Irish had long before preceded them. Fifteen years before the establishment of Christianity in Iceland, Eric the Red settled in Greenland; which puts the latter event in about the year 985. The record says that he gave the country the name of "Greenland," because the name would make a good impression and encourage colonization. The indications, however, point to the conclusion, that the continent of North America bore the name of "Greenland" long before, and that he simply gave the name to the particular northern region in which he settled. Before the advent of the Northmen, this continent was known as "Ireland the Great," and also as "White Man's Land," on account of the dress of inhabitants found here by the Irish. The adventurers from Ireland, which was known as "the Green Island," on reaching our continent and discovering its vastness, probably gave it the

name of "the Green Land." "Greenland" may therefore be regarded as the first historic name of this country. The Northmen, following the Irish, gave it the name of "Vineland." It was afterwards known as "Estotiland," an unexplained name, possibly a corruption of "the Scot's Land." "Drogeo" was also applied to one region, and, when the Cabots came, North America received the name of "Bacallaos," the land of the codfish; being followed by "Yucatania," found on the Verrazano map of 1529, the name of the isthmus of Yucatan being made to do duty for the continent. "Norombega" followed, while "Mexicana" and "Peruviana" also had a share of attention. "Greenland," however, became restricted to the region now bearing the name; "Norombega" dwindled until it came to signify a town on the Penobscot, and all other names were discarded to make way for "America."

At the time of the shipwreck of Thorgils, whose adventures are related in the article which follows this sketch, the Northmen had definitely located the present Greenland, which, however, they regarded as a part of Europe, and connected therewith by an arm of land stretching northward around Iceland to Norway. They did not dream that they had discovered a "New World." They never boasted of any discoveries, and freely conceded priority to the Irish.

Eric the Red, on being banished from Iceland, went west in search of

land that had been discovered by other Icelanders, and eventually reached Greenland. He settled in a place called "Eric'sfiord." This was on the west coast of Greenland, where, eventually, a second colony was formed farther south, and, by the trend of the coast, lay, consequently east of Eric's settlement. On the eastern coast of Greenland there never was any settlement, and this is proven by a fact not mentioned by M. Beauvois, namely, that the Zeno map, which was of Pre-Columbian origin, shows no settlement on the east coast. This map was first published after the voyage of Columbus, and at a time when it was popularly supposed that the eastern settlement of the Northmen was situated absolutely on the eastern coast. The map, however, boldly proclaimed that no settlement ever existed on the east coast, and all inquiries and discoveries since have gone to support the antiquity and authenticity of the map, demonstrating at the same time the truth of the Zeno narrative, showing a Pre-Columbian voyage to this country.

At the time of the shipwreck of Thorgils, the eastern coast of Greenland was in its present condition, being, for the most part, blocked with ice, and practically uninhabitable, only a few Eskimo venturing thither by making their way eastward around Cape Farewell; though, singularly, far up in the north, on the east coast, in one place a differ-

ent state of things was found by Scoresby, who was surprised by the warmth of the air, the freedom from ice, the luxuriance of the grass, and the hum of insects. Poor Thorgils, nevertheless, failed to discover any such happy hunting-grounds, falling upon the region where the glaciers slide down from the mountains and an almost unbroken ice belt clings to the shore, an icy shirt of Næssus, instead of fire, consuming all things with an insatiable consumption.

M. Beauvois has pointed out about all that is of interest to the general reader in connection with Thorgils' shipwreck, and has faithfully analyzed the narrative. If it had been necessary, he could, nevertheless, have said much more in regard to the supernatural in connection with the Saga, and he rightly concludes that the supernatural element forms one proof of its antiquity and authenticity; for if we were to reject the story on account of the flights of diseased imagination that it carries, it would be necessary to impugn a large portion of early New England history. Mather's "Magnalia," for instance, abounds with sick men's fancies similar to those portrayed in the Saga of Thorgils, while the brawls and bloodshed which mark this Saga more than find their parallel in the Saga of Einer Sokkeson, a startling picture of life and manners in mediæval Greenland, about to appear from the press.

It may be of interest to point out

the resemblance between the defection of Thorgils' "bondmen" and the failure that has often distinguished the action of followers in Arctic expeditions, and, notably, in that of the Greely expedition, where, in the time of pressure, provisions were stolen by those who had it not in their power to desert. The "bondmen" were those known otherwise as "thralls" and "house carls," being prisoners taken in expeditions against neighboring chiefs or powers, and reduced to a mild condition of slavery, which did not prevent them from rising in the social scale. The Kettles of Iceland were Irishmen taken prisoners by the Iceland merchants on the coast of Ireland, one of them being known as "Thorer-Kettle-Paunch," from the resemblance of his stomach to a cauldron. The Kettles of Iceland were Irish slaves thus named, though this patronymic, after the analogy of "Smith" blossoming out as "de Smythe," now appears in a Frenchy form as "Kettelle." The first slaves known to have trodden the soil of New England were Irish; a man and a woman in the expedition of Leif Ericson, A. D. 1000. "Haki" and "Hekia," described as "two Scots," the Irish being at that time always known as "Scots." Ingolf, the first settler of Iceland, was murdered by his slaves; and Thorgils himself, as will be seen by the narrative, had a narrow escape.

M. Beauvois makes Thorgils a

contemporary of Karlsefni, who came to New England in 1006-9. This was at the beginning of colonization in Greenland; where the islanders maintained settlements for at least three hundred years, building some fourteen churches and maintaining a line of duly consecrated Bishops. The ruins of the Cathedral Church at Garda are pointed out to-day. All this enterprise, however, was conducted in the two settlements of the west coast, known as the east and west "Bygds," a somewhat full account of which may be found in the narrative of Ivar Bardsen, steward to

one of the Bishops. There is nothing whatever to indicate that the Northmen attempted to settle on the eastern coast.

It remains only to say that the article of M. Beauvois was prepared several years ago at the instance of the present writer, and has only now been translated for the press. His prolific and untiring pen has adorned a multitude of historical and antiquarian themes of profound interest, and has given this author a distinguished and assured place among scholars of his class in Europe.



If one would make a list of voyages mentioned in mediæval documents it would be a very long one; nevertheless it would be difficult to find an account more eventful than that of the shipwreck of the Icelander Thorgils Ærrabeinsfostre. It is one of the most ancient that has been preserved for us, not in Norse literature only, but in any of the modern European languages. It is all the more interesting in that it has for its scene the Arctic Seas, then so little explored, and because shelter was found in a country of the new world the existence of which was hardly suspected outside of Scandinavia. The inhospitable shores which afforded a refuge to the unhappy cast-aways are so dif-

ficult of access that even the moderns, so proud of their maritime superiority, and with all the resources furnished by the progress of navigation and the use of steam, have only very infrequently been able to reach them. Though Lieut Graah, of the Danish navy, visited many points of it during a celebrated voyage (1829-1831),¹

¹W. A. Graah, "*Undersøegelses Reise til Øst Kysten af Grønland*," Copenhagen, 1832, 4to, transl. into English by G. G. Macdougall; extract published in the "*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*," Paris, October, 1830 (cf. the notice by C. Pingal of the principle voyages of exploration to Greenland, in "*Groenlands historiske Mindesmarker*," published by the Society Royal of Northern Antiquities, vol. III., Copenhagen, 1845), 800 pp. 776-790.

Captain P. D. Loewenoern in 1786, and his lieutenants Egede Rothe in 1786-1787, endeavored in vain to reach it¹. The Ingolf, commanded by Capt. A. Mourier was enabled to view the western bank of the Strait of Denmark only at a distance of several miles (myriamètres), being separated from his schooner by enormous icebergs.² This does not refer, it is to be understood, to Scoresby, Ross, nor to several others, who have visited portions of the east coast of Greenland much more northerly, where the ice is not so violently driven by the winds and currents as in the Strait of Denmark. The reference is now solely to the coast of Frederick VI, explored by Graah, and to its prolongation as far as 69° N., namely, to the point where it ceases to run from S. W. to N. E. turning straight to the north, and where the sea expands itself indefinitely.

Aside from Graah, it is doubtful

whether one ought to call fortunate those who have visited the western shores of the Strait of Denmark. Some have done so involuntarily, as the Dutch Hamburg fishermen shipwrecked in 1777,³ the Germans of the Hanse-towns in 1870;⁴ and others who have explored the country scientifically, as Lieutenant Jules de Blosseville and the crew of the French brig la Lilloise, who perished in the attempt. It may be judged from this brief review how perilous is the navigation of the coasts in question, and it will not be surprising that the account of the shipwreck of Thorgils is to this day one of the best sources of our information regarding eastern Greenland. It is to be found in the *Floamanna saga*, or History of the Inhabitants of the Floi, i. e. of the low and marshy lands, or if one prefers, of the delta located in the *Arnas Sysla* (southern quarter of Iceland) between the bay of the Celfusa on the west,

¹ P. de Loewenoern, "Extrait de la relation d'un voyage fait pendant l'année 1786 pour la découverte de la côte orientale du Groenland" in "Annales Maritimes et coloniales" of Bajot, Paris, 1823, also published separately. This extract translated into French by the author himself, is taken from his report in mss. in two volumes, preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, No. 1975-76 4to, cf. the notice of Pingal, cited above, pp. 751-753. Christian, Thestrup Egede, "Reisebeskrivelse til Æster-groenland opdagelse," Copenhagen, 1789, 2d ed. 1796; cf. Pingel's notice, pp. 754-759.

² A. Mourier, "Orlogskonnerten Ingólfs

Expedition i Danmarkstradet, 1879," in "Geografisk Tidsskrift," published by the direction of the Royal Danish Geographical Society, and edited by Ed Ersler, vol. IV, 1880, 4to., Copenhagen, pp. 47-60; pl. 3-4.

³ C. Norman, "En Rejse langs groenlands Æst Kyst i Aaret, in 1877," in "Geografisk Tidsskrift," Vol. II, Copenhagen, 1878, 4to., p. 49-63.

⁴ "Die zweite Deutsche Nordpolfahrt," Berlin, 1871; cf. "Einer Skizze der zweiten Deutschen Nordpol Expedition, 1869-1870," following "Die österreichisch-ungarisch Nordpol-expedition in der jahren 1872-1874," by J. Payer, Vienna, 1876.

the Hoita on the north, and the Thjorsa to the east.¹

This saga is not among the most ancient in its actual form. Finn Magnussen ascribes its authorship to the Bishop Thorlak of Skaldholt, who died in 1193,² a descendant from Thorgils in the female line, in the fourth generation. G. Vigfusson and Moebius object³ that if he had been the author, Thorlak would not have affixed to his name the epithet *saint*.⁴ It may be answered that this is one of those numerous interpolations by copyists, without however adopting the theory of Finn Magnussen, any more than that of his critics. The latter think that the author was an Icelandic clergyman, in the south of the island; but it is impossible to determine anything with certainty in this respect; neither is it of any special use, as the saga has evidently passed through many hands. Finn Magnussen admits that its second author was Styrmir Frode, who died in 1245, and that it was retouched by one or two anonymous writers in the middle of the fourteenth or even the fifteenth century.⁵ One can hardly

be mistaken in adding a fourth author to that list, and that the real one, namely, the first narrator who related this saga, shortly after the events, in the earlier half of the eleventh century.

In any case the manuscripts testify that it has not sprung from a single source. Finn Magnussen, who had fourteen at his disposal, classed them under four heads:⁶ 1st, a short fragment on parchment, forming part of the Arnas Magnaeus collection in the university library at Copenhagen, no. 456, b., in 4to,⁷ which he regards as the most ancient edition known; the shape of the letters and the spelling cause him to believe that the manuscript to which this fragment belonged must have been copied about 1400; 2d, another edition comprising but twenty-two chapters, contained in manuscript K, according to his classification; 3d, a much more extensive edition, especially in regard to that which describes the shipwreck and the adventures in Greenland; it is divided into thirty-three chapters, and contained in manuscript 515 of the Arnas Magnaeus Collection, which was copied in the first half of

¹ P. E. Kristian Kalund, "Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk Beskrivelse af Island," Vol. I., Copenhagen, 1877, 8vo, pp. 173-5. See for the scene of this saga in Iceland, "cir conscription No. 1," of the map accompanying the edition of the *Sturlunga saga*, by Dr. G. Vigfusson, Oxford, 1879 2 vols. 8vo.

² Preface to the *Floamanna saga*, in "Groenlands hist. Mindesmaerker," Vol. II. pp. 24-27.

³ Preface to their edition of the "Fornsægur: Vatnæd a lasaga, Hallfredarsaga, Floa-

manna saga," Leipzig, 1860, 12mo. pp. 26-27.

⁴ p. 146 de Fornsaegur.

⁵ Groenlands hist. Mindesmaerker, Vol. II, pp. 23-31.

⁶ Ibid p. 16-21.

⁷ Edited with translation into Danish, at the end of the extracts from the *Floamanna saga*, Vol. II., pp. 166-175, of the Groenlands hist. Mindesmaerker, and without translation in Fornsaegur, pp. 183-185.

the seventeenth century; it was not known to Thorlacius who has translated this saga, nor to Arngrimur Tonaus, nor to Th. Torfaeus, who analyzed it; 4th, the other manuscripts arranged into four divisions.

The editors of the *Fornsaegur* (ancient sagas) suggest another classification;¹ according to them all these manuscripts and fragments constitute only two classes; 1st, the shortest edition, which they look upon as the best written and the oldest; it is found in a manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century, the *Vatnshornsbok* or *Vatshyrna* (book of the Vatnshorn in the Hankadal, in the western part of Iceland), which was in the possession of P. H. Resen, and which was consumed at the burning of Copenhagen in 1728. Fortunately two copies had been made of it; one by Ketil Taerundarson of Hvamm, maternal ancestor of Arnas Magnaeus (No. 516, 4to, of Arnas Magnaeus Collection); another by Asgeir Tons-son (No. 517 in 4to, of the same collection). There is but little divergence between them, but in case of divergence, the former is the better authority, as it was placed among the

collection of the *Vatnshornbok* by Arnas Magnaeus himself. The editors of the *Fornsaegur* have reproduced it (pp. 118-161) with the variations of the other, because that text appeared to them preferable to that of all the other manuscripts comparatively recent, derived from the *Vatnshornsbok*; 2nd, the other edition, much more detailed, is found in a manuscript on parchment, of which only fragments remain; one of these was edited by Finn Magnusen,² and by Messrs. Vigfussen and Maebius;³ the other by the latter only.⁴ for it was not known to the former except as a copy inserted in No. 515, folio of the Arnas Magnaeus Collection, transcribed between 1634 and 1670, by Thord of Hitardal. They also reproduced chapters 18-23 of this manuscript (pp. 168-177, of their edition) which Baerge Thorlacius utilized for his translation of the *Floamanna saga*.⁵

This translation is the only complete one that has been published; that of Finn Magnusen, beginning at the eighth chapter. The saga therefore is accessible only to Scandinavians and Norse scholars; foreigners have no acquaintance with it except

¹ Preface to the *Fornsaegur*, pp. 16, 22, 23, 27. They assert (p. 28) that ms. A of Finn Magnusen's classification, which the latter is said to have taken for the basis of his text, is mainly a copy of No. 516, in 4to of the Arnas Magnaeus Collection.

² In Groenlands hist. Mindesmaerker, Vol. II. pp. 166-175.

³ In *Fornsaegur*, pp. 183-185.

⁴ In *Fornsaegur*, pp. 177-183.

⁵ *En nordisk Helt fra det 10 de Aarhundrede, Thorgils Kaldst Orrabeins Stifsaens, Historie, oversat fra det gamle Skandinaviske, med en Indledning af Baerge Thorlacius*, with notes by Skule Thorlacius, Copenhagen, 1809, 8vo, first published in *Skandinaviske Literatur-Selskabs-Skriften*, Copenhagen, 1808, pp. 184-336.

through a brief analysis prepared by Arngrimus Tonæus;¹ and by another longer one, although incomplete and occasionally incorrect, inserted in two works of Torfæus;² finally by means of a short notice contained in the German translation of the Literature of the sagas, by P. E. Müller.³ The selections which we are about to present, are as complete as possible in respect to eastern Greenland, but extremely brief for the remainder. It is thus not a literal translation, since it does not follow any one text exclusively, but selects from the various texts, and endeavors mainly to reproduce the ideas relative to our special subject.

Before presenting the material itself, it may be well to say a few words regarding the somewhat obscure chronology of this saga. It can only be ascertained by synchronisms and certain dates furnished by the MSS., yet there are some discrepancies in these, aside from the fact that scholars are always seeking to manipulate them in order to make them square

with their theories.⁴ Suhm was so uncertain as to the year of Thorgils' death, that he hesitated between 1041 and another date anterior to 1030.⁵ B. Thorlacius placed the same event in 1038, and SK. Thorlacius, between 1038 and 1040.⁶ Here follow the principal dates of interest to us, according to Finn Magnussen's⁷ chronology;

I.D.

Birth of Thorgils	960
His first voyage to Norway	976
Expedition to Hebrides, fr. 979 to 980	
Return to Iceland	985
Stay of thirteen years in that country to	998
Shipwreck about the middle of October	998
Forced sojourn on the east coast of Greenland, to	1002
Stay in the Vestribygd till	1003
Departure from Greenland and arrival in Iceland	1003
Arrival in Norway 1004, in Iceland	1005
Death of Thorgils	1041

¹ *Crymogea sen rerum Islandicarum libri tres*, Hamburg, 1609, 4to., pp. 149-150. No reference is intended to his *Groenlandia*, which is in MS.

² *Groenlandia antiqua*, Copenhagen, 1706, 18mo., pp. 130-151; *Historia rerum Norvegi-carum*, Copenhagen, 1711, folio, Vol. II.

³ *Sagabibliothek*, transl. by C. Lachmann, Berlin, 1816, 8vo.

⁴ For instance: some MSS. assert that Thorgils went to Norway when 16 years old, others when 21 years (ch. XII of the *Floamanna saga*, cf. *Groenlands hist. Mindesmar-*

ker, II. pp. 44, 182-3). Mr. Vigfusson thinks that this is an error of the copyist, and that it should read 25 years (*um tímatat í Íslendinga sægum í formald*, in *Safu til sægu Islands og islenzkra bokmenta ad forun og myju gefid ut af islenzka Bokmentafelagi*, Vol. I. Copenhagen 1811, p. 291, 421.) P. A. Munch read 20 instead of 15 (*Det norske Folks Historie*, part I. Vol. II. p. 136.)

⁵ *Tabeller til critiste Historie af Danmark*, Copenhagen, 1779, folio, pp. 375-6, tabban LXXX.

⁶ *loco cit.* p. 334.

⁷ *Groenland's hist. Mindesmar-*

P. A. Munch, who has made such a profound study of Norwegian chronology, supposes that Thorgils was born in 948; that he went to Norway in 964; that he undertook his expedition to the Hebrides in 980; that he embarked for Greenland in 997; that he dwelt in that country seven years and quitted it in 1003.¹ The dates having reference to Greenland sufficiently agree with those adopted by Finn Magnusen; they differ greatly from those of Gudbrand Vigfusson, who puts the birth of Thorgils in 937; estimates his stay in Norway to have been ten years (963-973), his stay in Iceland, thirteen years (973-986), his stay in Greenland, six years (from 986-988, to 991-993),² and places his decease in 1022.³ But since he arrives at these results only by means of conjectures and rectifications of the texts, and as he is not very certain about the date of the departure for Greenland and the length of Thorgils' stay in that country (see above) we prefer to hold ourselves to the chronology of Finn Magnusen and Munch, the more so as the question of dates is of no very great importance in the present instance.

Certain episodes in the previous

¹ *Det Norske Folks Historie*, part I, Vol. II. p. 136, note 2, cf. p. 137, note 1 and pp. 868-9.

² He is more precise in the *Fornasægur* (pref. p. xxvi) where he reduces this stay to five years (986-990).

³ *Un timatal*, pp. 291, 368, 421-2, 495-7.

career of Thorgils, will show us the energy that he gave proof of during his infancy and youth, and how he was prepared to surmount the difficulties which he was destined to encounter. His Great-grandfather Hallstein, son and grandson of Norwegian *jarls* (chiefs), had emigrated to Iceland in order to evade the snares of Harold Harfager, whose father Halfdan Svarte had married for his first wife, Thora, Hallstein's cousin. Thorgils was but two years old when his father, Thord Dofne, abandoned his wife Thorunne, and departed for Norway. As the latter was not heard from, the deserted wife remarried at the end of three years with the corsair Thorgrim Errabein. For this reason Thorgils' surname was *Errabeinsfostre*, or *Errabeinsstjup* (ward or stepson of Errabein). Having at the age of five years cut a horse's throat so that he might be permitted to play with the other children who excluded from their society those who had never killed anything, he was driven from the house of his stepfather and withdrew to that of a friend. At the age of sixteen, having twice demanded his share in the inheritance from Thorgrim, he departed for Norway, for the purpose of making a claim to the domains of his ancestors. He declined to attach himself to the court of the King Harold Grafell, but he took service at that of Hakon jarl, where he bound himself by a close friendship to a very courteous young Iclander, who was called Eric

the Red, and who later discovered Greenland. The jarl imposed upon him a dangerous task, that of undertaking to recover the tribute of the Hebrides, which had not been paid for three years. He suffered shipwreck on the coast of Caithness in the north of Scotland, was well received by the jarl of that country, and married his sister Gudrun, after having killed in single combat a pirate who had tried to carry her away by force. With the ships which were the reward of his victory, he continued on his expedition, compelled the Hebrides islanders to clear themselves of their debt, and brought the tribute to Hakon jarl, who restored to him the patrimonial estates. He, *Thorleif*, gave them to his son. Thorstein confided their administration to his friend Thorstein the Fair, and having observed the secret affection of the latter for Gudrun, he bestowed her upon him, an act of generosity which was highly praised by contemporaries.¹

Thorgils then made a commercial journey to the high plateaus of Norway and into Sweden, in the course of which he killed three malefactors, after which he returned to Iceland. His mother was dead; his stepfather had been massacred and avenged by his son, who welcomed Thor-

gils. The latter married a young maiden called Thorey, and when Christianity was preached in Iceland (between 996 and 998), he became one of the earliest converts. As he presided over the rites in his Canton, the superstitious authors of the *Floamanna* saga ascribed to the vengeance of the god Thor, the misfortunes he was called upon to endure: first, the loss of his fatted swine; next, that of an old ox. He was obliged to spend one night watching his cattle, and in the morning his body was all blue; it is supposed therefore that he had had a struggle with the god, but also that he must have proved an obstinate antagonist, inasmuch as the malady ceased.²

He had been settled thirteen years in his native island when his friend, Eric the Red, invited him to go over to Greenland, promising him the most advantageous terms. Thorgils accepted forthwith, and he made preparations to set out for the new colony, leaving his wife, Thorey, perfect liberty to act as she pleased. Although the latter was possessed of gloomy presentiments, she declared that her duty was to accompany her husband. The illness of their daughter, Thorey, eight years of age, did not alter his resolution. He left the child with a friend, judging that it was its destiny to remain in Iceland. He entrusted the management of his estates to Hæring, his half-brother, to whom he transferred his functions as *gode* or pontiff of his district, and

¹ *Floamanna saga*, in Groenlands hist. Min-desm., II. pp. 36-49, 54-65, 68-71; and in *Fornsægur*, pp. 119, 122, 127, 137.

² *Floamanna saga*, ib. II. pp. 70-73, 76-79; 84-87; and in *Fornsægur*, pp. 137-141.

he bestowed on him, beside his immovables, goods to the amount of six thousand yards of brown vadmál,¹ worth six hundred ounces of silver, which were to be for the use of his daughter in case she had need of it. He reserved also the estate of Traderholt for his heirs, if he should not return, and he engaged a certain Thorolf to estimate its value. Having purchased a ship which he found in the Leirnvág,² he embarked with his wife, Thorleif and with Thorstein, his son by the former marriage, and who had come to him with handsome presents. They had with them also a well-to-do land-owner, Jostein of Skalfholt and his wife, Thorgerde, a cousin of Thorey, who had brought her up, their son, and three other persons who had grown up with Thorey; Kol, Starkad and their sister Gudrune. Thorgils who intended to build a house on his arrival in Greenland, took with him Thörain his steward with a dozen serfs, two of whom bore the names Snækall and Æssur. The ship therefore carried twenty-two

persons, all in the vigor of life, and all kinds of cattle, the intention being to form a permanent settlement.³

While Thorgils was waiting for a favorable moment for setting sail, there appeared to him in a dream a large man with red beard and of stern expression, who said to him: "Your undertaking will turn out badly, unless you renew your allegiance to me, in which case I will be your protector." Thorgils⁴ replied that he cared nothing for his protection; that he had better withdraw the soonest possible, and that everything would occur as the Almighty God should will. It then seemed to him as if Thor carried him to a steep rock against which waves were beating. "Behold the picture of the place where thou shalt be detained, without being able to depart, unless thou returnest to thine ancient faith," said Thor. "No, go away from me evil spirit" replied Thorgils: "I shall be aided by Him who shed His blood for men's salvation." Upon this he awoke, and related his

¹ The yard of vadmál, or homespun woollen stuff was the unit of value in ancient Iceland. Six yards of vadmál of Thorgils, says the saga, were worth one ounce of silver.

² There are two bays of that name in the Taxafjærd, in western Iceland, both not far from the Floi, where was Thorgils abode. The one here referred to is probably the more southern one, which is the more accessible to Rykjavik and the Floi.

³ *Floamanna saga*, in *Grænlands hist. Mindesm.*, II. pp. 86-91: Fornsægur, pp. 141-142.

⁴ Thor, besides being one of the chief gods of the Scandinavian mythology, it is to be noted that his name entered into the composition of that of Thorgils, who had been in some manner consecrated to him in his pagan baptism. *Gils*, which Mr. Ivar Aasen erroneously compares with the French *Giles* (*Norsk Navnebog*; Christiana, 1878, 18mo. p. 15), seems rather to correspond with *gael*, *gille*, or *gjolla* (servant) which passed into Norway in the Christian centuries under the form of *gilli*, in the same way that *gisl* (hostage) is related to *gael*, *gjoll*, which has exactly the same meaning.

dream to his wife, who said: "If I had had this bad dream I would have remained here; it is best not to speak of it to your companions."

But a good wind carried them out of the bay, scarce had they lost sight of the shores of Iceland, when there occurred a calm and they drifted over the sea until their supply of food and drink was on the point of giving out. Thor again appeared to Thorgils, with as little success as at other times. But when autumn came they asked that sacrifices be offered to this god: No one dared do so, however, by reason of the prohibition and the threats of the master of the ship. Thor having again appeared to the latter, promised to conduct him to his haven within the space of seven nights, and on his renewed refusal demanded his own. Thorgils, on reflection, thought that there must be an ox which really had been consecrated to Thor. On awaking he made up his mind to throw overboard the animal to which he attributed his ill-luck, and did it too in spite of the supplications and discontent of Thorgerde, who offered to purchase it.¹

They continued to drift during three months, and often with very severe weather. Thorarin, now twenty years old, was to his master the most valuable man of the crew. It was reported that the ship had stranded upon the sandy beach of a

bay of Greenland, whose shores on both sides were overhung with high glaciers. The upper part of the ship broke lose, but all the travelers were saved, together with the cargo and the shallop. The prow was thrown upon the southern shore. It was a week before the beginning of winter. The shipwrecked party constructed a cabin which a board partition divided into two apartments, the one occupied by Thorgils and his people, the other by the family of Jostein. The greater part of the cattle had been drowned, but they had a little flour to sustain them, they also caught some seals, whales and fish. Thorgils and his party proved to be the best purveyors; and they also enjoyed the better portion. To a remark of Jostein's to this effect, he replied: "We do not each observe the same methods; you stay up late, while we go to work early in the morning." Nevertheless, he consented that an equal division be made, and neither of the parties suffered hunger, but they were not in perfect accord. Thorgils recommended his men to keep themselves quiet and peaceable at nights, and carefully to observe their religious duties. Those of Jostein, on the other hand, made a brawl and amused themselves at night with violent and noisy exercises. Thorey was with child and in a poor state of health. She was delivered about the opening of winter of a boy who was christened and called Thorfinn. The food within reach was hardly the

¹ *Floamanna saga*, in Groenl. hist. mindes. II pp. 90-97; in Fornsægur pp. 142, 143.

kind for one in her condition. Thorgils, therefore, sent his men out to fish with the serfs of Jostein. On Christmas eve he urged his men to be peaceable and not to be up late. On Christmas day it was fine weather, and they could go out doors. There was heard a great noise in the north-east.¹

The next day Thorgils and his men retire in good season; they sleep for some time, when Jostein and his people enter to get their supper; the latter make a great uproar, in which Thorgerde takes an ample part; she was as strong as a man. While they were on their beds, there was a loud knock at the door. One of them, thinking some one had come to bring good news, went out, but he instantly became raving mad, and the next day he died. On the following night another similarly fell into a frenzy, saying that he saw running the one who had died. Forthwith an epidemic developed itself among the band of Jostein, and six men fell victims to it. Attacked by it himself, he also succumbed; all the bodies were buried in the sand.²

¹ The account does not indicate its cause: it was doubtless the breaking up of the floating glaciers, which, according to an old Danish Chronicler of the 12th Century, cause to be heard in these regions as it were an echo of loud voices and various unusual sounds (*Saxo grammaticus, Historia*

Thorgils exhorted his people to profit by this example; he told them to remain peaceable and steady, to devote themselves to pious meditations, and to conduct themselves rationally, in observing the practices of Christianity and in prayer. Thorgerde also fell sick and died, as in fact all the companions of Jostein, one after the other. Thorarin, his son, was the last. All these deaths occurred before the middle of the month Goi.³ Much trouble was experienced, moreover from the appearance of spectres, which attacked Thorgils in particular, and prevented the survivors from going abroad. They manifested themselves especially in the portion of the cabin which had been occupied by Jostein's band, and they did not cease to appear until Thorgils had caused the corpses to be burned. As the two parties had busied themselves with ship-building, there was one boat upon the stocks and another near completion. The end of the winter was approaching, but the ice still prevented departure. The summer was spent in providing victuals. The next winter, died Gudrune, sister of Kol,

Danica, edit. P. E. Muller et Velschow, Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1839, 4to., preface p. 15. cf. Groenl. hist. Mindes II. p. 198.

² *Floamanna saga* in *Groenl. hist. Mindes*, II pp. 96-101; in *Fornaegur* p. 143.

³ Commencing about February 21.

who buried her beneath her own bed.¹ At the opening of spring, it was still too early to undertake the journey. Thorey related one day to her husband a dream which she had had, in which she had seen a large and beautiful country, with shining people; she conjectured from this that they would soon be delivered out of their trouble. Thorgils answered her that the dream augured happily, but that it perhaps had reference to another world, where she would be welcomed by the saints, in reward for her pure life and her sore trials. She urged him to try and get out of this desert if it were possible. He replied that he could not as yet see his way to this, but some day when it should be fine weather, he said that he would climb the glaciers to see if the icebergs were detached. Thorey, who kept her bed almost constantly, expressing her grief that he should leave her, he promised not to go away very far. The slaves should go fishing, the steward Thorarin should aid them in launching the boat, after which he should return to the invalid. Thorleif, Kol and Starkad offered to accompany Thorgils, and although

¹ The Eskimo of the Jameson country (70 degrees, 25 minutes, 71 degrees, 30 minutes), part of the east coast of Greenland, bury their dead in the same manner, (W. Scoresby, Jr., "Journal of a voyage to the Northern Whale-fishery . . . and discoveries on the eastern coast of West Greenland" Edinburgh, 1823. 8vo, cf. *groenl. hist. Mindes.* II. p. 200.

the latter had made the remark that the house would be left without protectors and that he ought not to rely upon serfs, they all went on the discovery. Thorgils was armed with a battle axe which he had found in an underground hiding place in Iceland. They came back at three o'clock in the afternoon in the midst of a storm. Thorgils marching in front, found the way with ease; on approaching the hut they saw nothing of the boat and the room was empty and the chests removed, which made them suspect some mishap. They heard some groans in Thorey's bed, who was dead; the babe was sucking the corpse, under one of whose arms they observed a wound made by a small knife and much blood about. Thorey was buried near Gudruna. Thorleif endeavored to console his father, whom this blow affected more severely than all that had gone before. All the food had been carried off, as also the curtains of the bed and the doors of the chambers.²

Thorgils watched by the babe through the night, although he saw no possibility of saving its life; this prospect distressed him so greatly that he determined upon an experiment; he pierced his breast, out of which flowed blood at first, then a blue liquid, which became white like milk. He made the babe draw this

² *Floamanna saga*, in *Groenlandshist. Mindes.* Vol. II, pp. 100-107; in *Fornsægur* pp. 143-125.

and fed it thus.¹ The shipwrecked devote themselves diligently to fishing, and they tried to construct a boat to replace the one that had been stolen, but they had no tools, the serfs having carried away the chest which contained the gimlets, as well as the great caldron; there remained only the small one with a piece of meat. They made a boat of skins, stretched over a framework of willow-wood, and used it for fishing. One morning when Thorgils went out he saw in a gap in the ice a large animal, whence two queer looking women were taking fat quarters.² Thorgils running upon them with his Irish sword, struck one of them while she was making up her load, and cut her hand; she fled and dropped her burden. He seized the carcass (of the beast) and there was no lack of victuals during the winter, but in the spring they were nearly gone. The sea having become passable, they proceeded elsewhere by following the foot of the glaciers, or by travelling

upon the ice. In the summer they crossed with their boat of skins to the *Seleys* (the Seal Islands) where they caught several seals, but they had been able to carry thither only a part of their effects. They passed the winter here. At the commencement of the summer they pushed further on, and at the expiration of a fortnight, they came to an islet where they found eggs of the blackbacks (*svart-bak*, larus marinus) which they fed to the baby, because victuals were so scarce. He only ate the half of them, and when he was asked why, he answered: "I want to economize as well as you." They passed the night in their boat, but landed during the day; the chase and fishing met with only moderate success. One day they found a piece of an oar upon which was written in Runic characters: "I have many a time wet this oar, when I wielded it upon the oar-banks; it hurt my hands when I returned to the house, as if I had been beating iron."³

As they went along the glaciers they came to some steep rocks; they drew their boat on shore and put up

¹ There exist a number of analogous accounts (Jean de Marconville, "Recueil Memorable d'anciens cas merveilleux advenuz de nos aus," Paris, 1564, 18mo., ch. 40, fo. 116; Simon Goulart, "Histoires admirables et memorables de nostre temps," in six books, vol. II. book 4, edition of 1627, 18 mo., pp. 812, 813; cf. Vol. I, 2d book.) It is especially in America that instances of lactation have been found, even in our days (De Pauw, "Recherches philosoph. sur les Americains," Vol. I., Paris, an III, 8vo, pp. 52-55—"Les Indiens de la baie d'Hudson," [after Kane] by Ed. Delessert, Paris, 1861, 18 mo., p. 260.)

² *Trollkonur*, composed of *Kona* (Woman) and *troll*, which corresponds to the Low-German *droll*, the Dutch *drol*, whence has come the French *drole*. The Icelandic *troll*, signifies giant, monster, demon, and its adjective *trollslig* has the sense of enormous, frightful, strange or queer. These women were evidently Eskimo, whom the narrator compares with monsters, by reason of their strange accoutrements made of seal skins.

³ *Floamanna saga* in *Groenlands hist. mindes*. Vol. II. pp. 106-111; in *Fornsaegur*, p. 145.

their tent. Kol on stepping out in the morning, fails to see the boat; but he does not wish to be the one to tell Thorgils, who has already had his share of grief, and he lay down again. Thorleif did the same; at last when Thorgils went out, he announced the loss they had suffered and said to his companions: "We are now compelled to put the child to death; we cannot long carry it through this desert across the glaciers and rocks which we must encounter." He begged them therefore to kill it. Thorleif replied that this would be a wicked thing to do. But Thorgils insisting, they carried the child away, and Thorleif transferred the evil work over to Kol, who in his turn declined to perform the deed. "Thorgils," said he, "will regret this hasty action, when he has regained his composure. I do not therefore wish to inflict this sorrow upon him; I have been his companion too long, and I owe him too great a debt of gratitude." Leaving the child outside they re-entered the tent. The father asked them if the thing had been done; on their answering in the negative he thanked them warmly. They went to get the child, which passed the night next to Thorgils. Once more did dreams inspire the shipwrecked party with some hope; a voice in reality cried to them from without that they might retake their boat, and they saw two queer looking women who had stolen it running away. A bear, one of whose forepaws was broken, was struggling

in shallow water. Thorgils ran towards the beast, killed it with a blow of his sword, after which he seized it by the ear to prevent its sinking to the bottom. They dragged it ashore and skinned it; each of the voyagers received only one piece of it, which seemed quite small; they complained of it among themselves, but Thorgils reminded them how necessary it was to be frugal, because of the difficulty in procuring victuals. Next they launched again upon the sea and passed by in front of many bays. Sometimes they carried the boat over the ice separating navigable waters. Arriving at the entrance of a large gulf, they were very tired, and were very thirsty, but there was no water near. One of the five companions then said that sailors on the point of dying of thirst would mix their urine with the sea water; they asked Thorgils' permission to drink such mixture. He declared that there was nothing to oppose it, and that he wished neither to forbid nor to command it; but when they were about to drink he took a vessel and uttered some words of exorcism; "Wicked beast who retardest our voyage, it shall not be said that thou shalt make us drink our own water!" In the same instant a diver flew out of the boat towards the north, uttering a cry. Continuing to row further on they saw a running stream, out of which they slacked their thirst. Three days later they discovered a linen tent which they recognized as Thor-

ey's. Within they found Thorarin the steward, of whom they asked how he came to be there. He told them that the run-away serfs had threatened to kill him if he would not accompany them, and that Snækoll was the murderer of Thorey. "I know not what thou deservest," answered Thorgils, "but thy tale seemest unlikely; thou shalt live no longer." They put him to death and buried him on the spot, after which they went on.¹

It was the beginning of autumn. They reached a gulf on the edge whereof stood a shed; they landed and drew the boat ashore. At the door of a house stood a man who greeted them and asked their name; they questioned him in their turn; he said that his name was Hrolf; that in consequence of a murder he had fled from the settlement; that it was not far off, but that the road was difficult. He reported besides that a ship had been fishing in his vicinity

¹ *Floamanna Saga* in *Groenl. Hist. Min.* II. 110-123; in *Fornsægur*, pp. 145-7.

² *Their fara suðr fyrir land* (*Groenl. Hist. Mindes* II. 124; *Fornsægur*, p. 148). This passage is very important in assisting us to determine the location of the coast upon which the emigrants were wrecked. They were in the eastern part of Greenland; since the interior of the country was absolutely impracticable, they must descend toward the south to Cape Farewell in order to reach the Eastern Settlement, or *Æstribygd*. This name has long given rise to the belief that it was situated on the straits of Denmark, but the eastern coast of Greenland being almost unapproachable and uninhabitable, we must

during the summer, but that it had not come to land. He made the voyagers a great welcome, and offered them hospitalities which they accepted. The little Thorfinn was given over to the care of the women; when milk was given to him he remarked that it had not the same color as that of his father. The emigrants passed the winter in that place. In the spring, their host offered to let them stay longer, or to let them use his boats if they wished to continue their journey. Thorgils thanked him and told him they would accept the use of his boats, and that he would make it his duty to show him his gratitude: "I hope," answered Hrolf "that you will attain a high position, and that then you will be able to be of great service to me, in reconciling me to my fellow-townsmen." Thorgil promised him this and they parted on the best of terms. The voyagers directed their course towards the southern part of the country;³ having landed in the gulf and

of necessity look for this settlement on Davis Strait on the west coast of Greenland. But why then is it called "Eastern Settlement?" because between 49 to 50 degrees long. west of Paris, the Greenland coast changes its direction, and instead of continuing to run from S. E. to N. W. it runs from E. to W.,—there it is almost a desert; as the glaciers come down almost to the sea, and have but a narrow stretch of land at their base; that desert separates the two Scandinavian colonies of the Middle Ages, that in the south being east of the other, although not so in relation to Greenland as a whole; it was called eastern, and that in the north, western.

erected their tent, they saw a merchant vessel driven by the same wind as they had been, and which came to land in the same place. Delighted with this happy event, Thorgils sent Thorleif and Kol to learn the name of the new-comers and to ask them for news. On their arrival at the ship a man in a red coat, who was seated upon the poop, arose and welcomed Thorleif in a very friendly manner. It was the latter's step-father, Thorstein the Fair; he asked after Thorgils, and learning that he was in the vicinity, he went to him. It was a happy meeting. The new-comer told that he had come from Iceland, and that the affairs of Thorgils were in good shape, but that for four years no one had heard him speak of him; that his daughter Thorny had married Bjarne of Græf. Perceiving that Thorleif did not return to Norway, Thorstein had manned his ship and set sail for Iceland; he had passed two winters there without obtaining news of the emigrants, and he had set out on a search for them. Rejoiced to have found them, he placed all he had at their disposal. Thorgils said, he expected to take nothing from his friend. Soon the people of the country approached them. A land-owner called Thoir, who lived near-by, offered hospitality to Thorstein which he accepted. As regards Thorgils, at the invitation of Eric the Red, he went to Brattahlid with twelve men. He was placed over against the master of the house;

after him came Thorleif, then Kol, and lastly Starkad. A nurse was obtained for Thorfinn, but he would not drink milk until it was made dark.¹

The emigrants have reached a happy haven. We need not follow them further, since the account of their shipwreck is the single object of this memoir, and it ends here. It occupies but the fourth or the fifth part of the saga according to the texts, and it forms the longest and by far the most important episode thereof. It is not merely the sojourn of the emigrants upon the east coast of Greenland, their painful journey across the icebergs or along the foot of the glaciers, which has made of it a document valuable by reason of its antiquity; it is also a source of careful instruction which would be hard to find elsewhere, regarding the preparations of the emigrants, their precautions in embarking with a large number of travellers, with cattle, with building materials, with provisions, with utensils, in short with everything which might be of use to them in their prospective establishment. These details throw a clear light upon the beginnings of the Greenland colony, and enable us to comprehend how it could succeed amid arduous surroundings, and in a country so little favored by nature. It is likely that the other emigrants

¹ *Floamanna saga*, in *Groenlands Hist. Mindes*. II. pp. 122-127; in *Fornsagur*, pp. 147-8.

had no less practical' good sense, foresight and energy than Thorgils. With these qualities, which have not always distinguished their imitators in modern times, they were able to transplant the Scandinavian civilization to one of the most sterile countries of the New World, to create there for themselves a new fatherland, to procure for themselves there abundant means of subsistence; to perpetuate themselves there during five centuries, and that without the aid of the Eskimo, then very scarce on the west shore of Davis Strait, and doing this without possessing the resources and advantages of traffic with the natives, but living entirely by fishing, by hunting, and the raising of cattle, and by finding in the export of natural products the means for buying and importing into Greenland all sorts of European commodities and merchandise. In no other part of America so far north was there founded a European colony which was able to subsist by itself, independently of the natives and the mother country. Even the Danish settlements in Greenland were placed on different foundations; they maintained themselves by means of monopoly, and simply exchanged European products for the raw material which the Eskimo drew from the bosom of the sea.

The Icelandic colony of Greenland therefore presents a phenomenon unique in history; this is what constitutes the value of the documents

which bear on it, and notably of the *Floamanna saga*. This saga has been very variously estimated; Finnus Johannæus places it among the number of the ancient sagas relating to Iceland which it is useful to consult, and which furnishes many good ideas.¹ Børge Thorlacius looks upon it as worthy of belief; according to him it deserves attention, not only on account of the adventures of its hero, but also by reason of its vividness of narration, its extrinsic worth, its displays of character; above all for the light which it sheds upon many points of northern antiquity.² P. E. Muller confesses that some of the adventures of Thorgils appear to him suspicious, but "that which relates to Eric the Red agrees well with the saga on that personage. Several phases of the sojourn of Thorgils in Greenland are so naive and characteristic, that they bear the impress of truth. One should not be surprised that the shipwrecked party—cast-away upon a desert coast of Greenland in the eleventh century, and dwelling there amid miseries during several winters—should have believed that they saw ghosts of the departed, or heard mysterious warnings. On the other hand, however, if the supernatural is presented in this saga with a seriousness which shows that the narrator himself believed in it, and

¹ *Historia ecclesiastica Islande*, IV preface, Copenhagen, 1778, 4to.

² *En nordisk Heit*; in *Skandin. Lit. Selskab Skrifler*, pp. 194, 202, 206.

distinguishing it from similar adventures in fairy tales,—it is frequent, and moreover affects more deservedly the occurrences than is ordinarily the case in purely historic sagas. The numerous temptations presented by Thor seem to belong to a later period; at least no ancient saga mentions anything like these.” “The voyage of Thorgils to Greenland,” says Finn Magnussen, “must ever remain a memorable one. The account which has been given of it carries indubitably the impress of truth, although, after an exhaustive examination, criticism may be able to discover in it here and there an error proceeding from the misunderstandings of the narrators or copyists. The events are presented conformably with the prejudices and the superstitions of the Middle Ages. Although a portion of these recitals may possess little attraction for cultivated readers, because they are corrupted by the irregular imagination and the false conception of unenlightened persons, they nevertheless reflect the real character, the point of view, and the opinions of our ancestors. The most important among them possess an incontestable credibility, which affords us an exact picture of the situation, the extent, and the wild and uncultivated condition of the eastern coast of Greenland.”

¹ *Sagabibliothek*, I., pp. 313, 314, Copenhagen, 1817, 18mo.

² *Groenlands hist. Mindes*. II. pp. 6-7.

The Norwegian historian, P. A. Munch, states that the principal events recorded in this saga have entirely the impress of truth, although some of the accessory circumstances have an air of having been later exaggerated and embellished,³ and he has not hesitated to give a place to Thorgils in his conscientious history of the Norwegian people.⁴ The Danish historian, N. M. Petersen, has simply re-produced the opinions of his predecessors; he admits that the saga has been embellished, and that the important account of the sojourn of Thorgils on the east coast of Greenland has been impaired by the fabulous features.⁵ The Norwegian, R. Keyser, is more severe than these critics, he grants very little historic value to the Floamanna saga, “in view,” he says, “of the fact that the true events which form the foundation of the recital are evidently mixed up to a considerable extent with fabulous additions, which, most of the time, do not even possess the merit of rendering the narrative more interesting.”⁶

³ *Det norske Folks Historie*, part 1st, Vol. II, p. 137, note, (Christiania, 1853, 8vo.)

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 41-43; 136, 137; 184; 360; 363; 465; 862-863.

⁵ *Bidrag til den old nordiske Literaturs Historie*, p. 208, in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1861, Copenhagen, 1866, 8vo.

⁶ *Normandenes Videnskabelighed og Literatur i Middelalderen*, p. 493, forming the 1st vol. of his *Efterladte Skrifter*, Christiania, 1866, 8vo.

It seems to us that the learned historian has allowed himself to be too powerfully influenced by the credulity of the narrator, proving doubtless his lack of the critical quality, but affording at the same time a proof of his good faith; for it is but the outcome of the belief of his day; and were this absent from a work of this kind and of that age, we might suspect that it had been touched up or expurgated in more modern centuries. If the marvellous which occupies so prominent a role in this saga did not have a place in nature, it did have a chief one in the diseased brains of the shipwrecked, which their sufferings and privations filled with hallucinations; they ascribed to the vengeance of Thor the misfortunes which overwhelmed them, or if they did not do so themselves, the superstitious narrator may well have sought in the contempt exhibited toward that false god the explanation of unmerited disasters. The pious sentiments which possessed him were not inconsistent with an

ascription of a certain amount of power to a mythological being, who to him as to mediæval christians generally, was the devil in the northern conceptions of him. The fantastic portions of the saga, therefore, do not in the least impair the authority of the narrator; they furnish on the contrary, an element of local color, and, as it is always easy to eliminate them, their presence in the recital has not the disadvantage that errors of a more likely nature would produce. Leaving the supernatural out of the account, there remains an animated picture of interesting adventures, but not at all extraordinary; an exact delineation of a country but little known even in our day. And the conformity of this description with that which has been given by modern travellers is a sure warrant for the authenticity of the account, which, if it has not been composed by one of the shipwrecked party, could not have been composed at all except from their own recitals.

E. BEAUVOIS.



THE HISTORIAN MOTLEY AT WORK.*

IN a treatment of Motley in a magazine devoted to National history, we must be careful not to pass beyond our scope. We must confine ourselves strictly to the man, apart from his subject—to the *American* writing a noble history, without regarding the country which he has so splendidly illustrated. Yet remembering the interests of historical students, to which these pages generally, and especially these essays on books are devoted, it will be quite legitimate to look in upon him at his work, both in the manner of it and in the place of it; so that if our curiosity in its laudable pursuit of him with reference to the circumstance of locality, leads us after all to the country whose history he has written, we may still feel we are properly there, and are not violating our *National* conditions.

A most interesting question may be raised at the very outset—none the less so because it must remain without positive answer, and may be left

within the field of conjecture or mystery. It is this: why did Motley ever come to write on just that subject the treatment of which has lent an undying lustre to his name and to the literary fame of his native land? The settlement of that question were a not unimportant gain to literary history—particularly in the domain of American literature. Dr. Holmes in his "Memoir" left the question unanswered; but he disclaimed for his book the exhaustiveness of a biography, and hoped this would be written by some other hand. Ten years after appeared the "Correspondence," and we hopefully turned for the solution of this question to these volumes. But almost the first word of the editor is a reference for biographical details to Dr. Holmes' "Memoir." Finally in despair the writer addressed the inquiry to Dr. Holmes himself, to which he was kind enough to make a reply, but assuring us that he was unable to make a positive statement in regard to the matter.

We are left then to conjecture, and there are steps in such a process which almost lead us into the light of certainty—yet certainty we are to re-

* John Lothrop Motley—A Memoir, by Oliver Wendell Holmes (Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1879.)

Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley. Edited by George W. Curtis, in two volumes. (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1889).

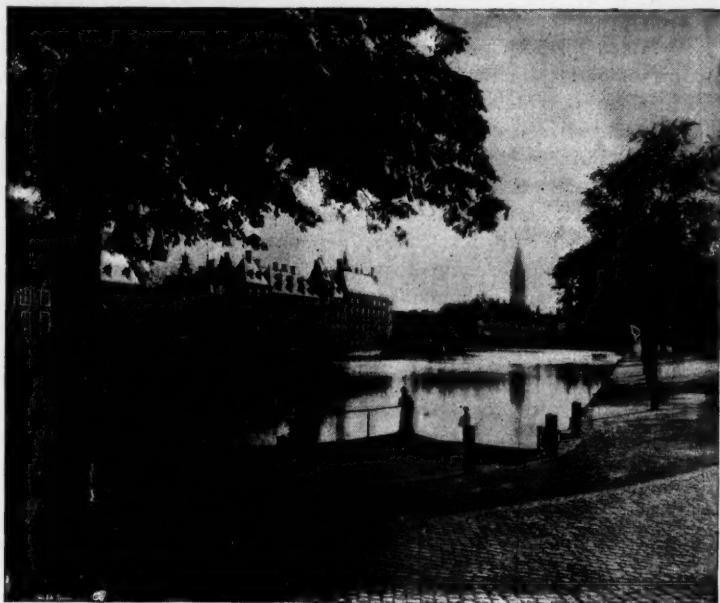
member there is not. Two novels had proved to Motley that he had better not pursue that kind of composition. But to himself and friends they proved just as conclusively that he wielded a mighty power of style, which would eminently suit the delineation of real events and the actions of actual persons—in short that he should write history. He tried his hand at this in a tentative way, publishing one article on "Peter the Great," another on the "Polity of the Puritans," in the *North American Review*. They deserved and won high praise from discriminating critics. History then was to be his destiny. But the history of what or of whom? Prescott had not yet written his "Philip the II."—so this could not have determined Motley to write on the Dutch Republic. Besides we have positive testimony that it did not. Before "Philip II." was published he learned that Prescott was engaged upon it. It filled him at once with a sickening despair, for he had even then chosen his subject, and it was sufficiently like that of the more practiced and known writer to appal him. "It seemed to me," he wrote to a friend afterwards, "that I had nothing to do but to abandon at once a cherished dream, and probably to renounce authorship. For I had not first made up my mind to write a history, and then cast about to take up a subject. My subject had taken me up, drawn me on, and absorbed me into itself." This certain-

ly evinces the noblest ideal of authorship; but it shows also that in some definite, powerful way, the subject of the Dutch Republic must have been "borne in upon" him; and therefore it would be interesting to trace the origin of the thought in his mind. We may remember that Bancroft had then published his History, and that Bancroft does ample justice to the earlier republic across the seas. Again "Peter the Great" would direct his studies to the sturdy little commonwealth to which even this great despot turned for instruction in practical arts; while the "Polity of the Puritans" would none the less leave it almost impossible for him to omit some mention of their brethren in theological and political thought in Holland; and certainly would compel a study of these ideas, or of the fact of their existence and practical operation, even without mention. But perhaps we get the nearest possible to the real origin of the purpose which bore such noble fruit, in the words of Mr. Groen Van Prinsterer, the celebrated Dutch statesman and historian, describing his first meeting with Motley: "It was the 8th of August, 1853. A note is handed me from our eminent Archivist Bakhuizen Van den Brink. It informs me that I am to receive a visit from an American, who having been struck by the analogies between the United Provinces and the United States, between Washington and the founder of our independence, has interrupted

his diplomatic career to write the life of William the First." Now we must not attach too much weight to this rendering by Van Prinsterer of the statements of Mr. Van den Brink, regarding Motley's purposes and their origin. But the archivist doubtless gained some such idea as expressed above from personal intercourse with

Motley's absorption by his subject, and to the stately volumes which he has left as so rich a heritage to American letters.

Whatever may have been the precise time or the exact occasion which led Motley to be "struck" with the analogies in question, about the year 1845 we find him at work upon the



VIEW OF THE "VYVER" FROM VAN PRINSTERER'S HOUSE.

Motley, and we are content to look to these analogies so striking and significant between the European Republic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the American of the eighteenth and nineteenth, as the determining motive which led to

project which had taken possession of him. We know not just what material he had then within his reach for his preparatory studies. Now some of our libraries are well provided with the Dutch authorities. The Astor Library in New York is

peculiarly rich, with Wagenaar, Bor, Van Meteren, De Wicquefort and Aitzema upon its shelves, to mention no other and minor yet important sources. There is no doubt that Motley could consult such works, as he was a fine linguist. German he spoke like a native, and it would not require much effort for him to add the Dutch to his command of the other languages. But even if he had access to all the works mentioned, his pursuit of history in the modern and scientific spirit, which is not content with printed sources merely, would have soon led him to crave something beyond these. It is the province of the historian of the present age to create his own sources; that is, to pass beyond the convenient printed storehouses, and to rummage among original documents, the state or private papers which reflect the movements of history as they were going on. He must thence draw his own conclusions, and form his own judgments, weigh evidence for himself as interested parties tell the same story differently, interpreting events through the distorting lens of prejudice. Conceiving this to be his duty if he were to write history worthily, Motley was forced to look across the ocean for the true field of his preparations. Whatever authorities in books already printed, America might or might not have then possessed, for the original documents the search must be made on the very spot which formed the theatre of

events. Accordingly he broke up his home in Boston, and with wife and family transferred his residence to Europe. This was in 1851. He found it necessary to establish himself in various places, and his peregrinations can easily be traced by means of his letters.

On the fourth of July of that year he arrives in England, establishes his family in a cosy little village on the Rhine, and then takes a trip through Holland. We possess no details of the trip, but doubtless he went over the ground that he was to describe in his account of battles and sieges. Guided by Motley's volumes the writer undertook a similar excursion a few years ago, leaving no point unvisited, however much out of the way of the ordinary tourist; looking upon the field of Heiligerlee, the Lexington of the Dutch Revolution, and also upon that of Mookerheide, fateful and fatal as Flodden or Long Island. Two months would give him ample time to make these personal visits, without which history cannot be written as modern criticism requires it; and in November, he is established at Dresden, thoroughly engaged in the work he had laid out for himself. Here was "a magnificent library of 450,000 volumes;" and there was also "a vast collection of unpublished documents" in the Royal Archives. His hero, William the Silent, married for his second wife, Anne of Saxony, the Elector's daughter, and naturally, original documents bearing on the

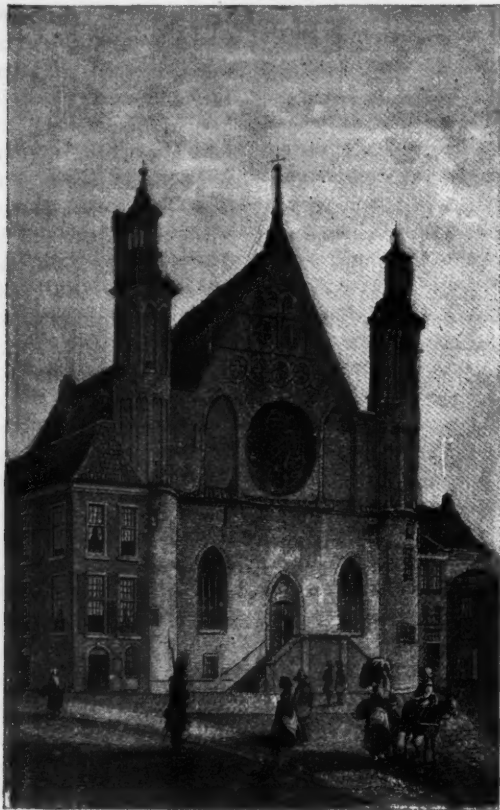
private life of the patriot were here at hand. The "Memoir" presents us with an interesting view of his manner of work from day to day. "He generally rose early, the hour varying somewhat at different parts of his life, according to his work and health. Sometimes when much absorbed by literary labor he would rise before seven, often lighting his own fire, and with a cup of tea or coffee writing until the family breakfast hour, after which his work was immediately resumed, and he usually sat over his writing-table until late in the afternoon, when he would take a short walk. His dinner hour was late, and he rarely worked at night." What we wish to emphasize particularly here, as an example and an incitement to historical students, is the matter of thoroughness, the grand Herculean labors which this American student bravely underwent. As a feature of American literary work it was unique in his case—much more so then, we are happy to say, than it has become since. It is the German who is generally taken as the type of the exhaustive and exhausting searcher, the unwearied "digger." But Motley worked as hard, and searched as widely and as deeply, as any German of them all. There is no use for any American to attempt to write in the same line without doing as he did, if the writing be for eternity and not for the fleeting days and ephemeral praise, as superficial often as the productions it belauds.

What could have been more gratifying than to receive such testimony as that of Prescott: "Everywhere you seem to have gone into the subject with a scholar-like thoroughness of research." We get glimpses from his letters how this research was conducted, especially after the publication and success of his first work, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," had given him the means and the name to command access to the depositories of valuable papers: "I have now two persons employed in [London] in copying for me, according to my mapping out when personally in the State Paper office and the British Museum. I was also hard at work in the Archives in Paris during the few weeks that we were there. I have however much to do in the subterranean way in Brussels, the Hague, London and Paris. I do not write at all as yet, but am diving deep and staying under very long, but hoping not to come up too dry. My task is a very large and hard one."

His next place of somewhat extended abode, after Dresden, was Brussels. This was the capital of the Netherland Provinces while they were still under the yoke of the King of Spain. Here was the Court of the Viceroy, or Governor; here met the States-General. This remained the capital of the Spanish Netherlands or the obedient provinces, after the seven northern ones had established the republic. The field for research here must therefore, have been par-

ticularly rich. Here too was the scene of these earlier political movements which foreshadowed the revolution and in which the talents, the

Egmond and Hoorn were executed; the palaces where the nobles met and assumed the proud title of Beggars (Gueux), where the four hundred



HALL OF THE KNIGHTS, ON BINNENHOFF.

prudence, the patriotism of William the Silent, shone forth quite as conspicuously as in later days of armed hostility. Upon the market-place,

gentlemen presented their "petition of rights," where Egmond and Hoorn were arrested and imprisoned—were all here, and intact. Motley has left

us a vivid description of how he passed his time here and what was the effect upon his mind of his absorbing historical studies. "I am in a town which for aught I know may be very gay. I do not know a living soul in it. We have not a single acquaintance in the place and we glory in the fact. When I say that I know no soul in Brussels I am perhaps wrong. With the present generation I am not familiar. *En revanche*, the dead men of the place, are my intimate friends. I am at home in any cemetery. With the fellows of the sixteenth century, I am on the most familiar terms. Any ghost that ever flits by night across the moonlight square is at once hailed by me as a man and a brother. I call him by his Christian name at once . . . I go day after day to the Archives here (as I went all summer at the Hague) studying the old letters and documents of the sixteenth century. Here I remain among my fellow worms, feeding on those musty mulberry leaves of which we are afterwards to spin our silk."

It was at Dresden and Brussels that Motley wrote his first work, "the Rise of the Dutch Republic." It was written in the midst of that natural trepidation which comes with the uncertainty of success. The author then feels constantly coming down upon him like a pall—or perhaps it is better to say like a "wet blanket"—the sense that after all what he may be doing is in vain. The volumes

may not find a publisher. They may fall dead from the press even if published. Here were three ponderous octavo volumes forming under his pen. Would any one feel the interest in the subject that animated him, and which the thorough acquaintance with the minutiae of the story, or the intense love for that sort of study perhaps alone created, and was not therefore to be expected to exist in the general reading public. It was an untried subject, somewhat away from the immediate sympathies of the two English speaking nations whose commendation was of course first of all to be gained. These doubts assailed Motley with peculiar force, because he was given to melancholy, despondent moods, "blue devils" as he calls them. In writing to his uncle, Mr. Edward Motley, he remarks: "The truth is I am so oppressed by a constitutional melancholy, which grows upon me very rapidly as to be almost incapacitated from making myself agreeable. You know how to sympathize with this frame of mind, and I should apologize to you for talking about my blue devils." But this very condition of uncertainty as to success brought out the finer qualities of authorship: the devotion to a scholarly ideal *per se*—the love of labor for its own reward. Assured success and an established fame may have—do have—their own advantages; but that sublime forgetfulness of self in the pursuit of literature as a divinity worthy of our best—

can only or sincerely possess us in the days when we are namelessly striving to accomplish some work which the world may, or may not, willingly let die. While writing on the Dutch Republic at Brussels, he observes in a letter to Dr. Holmes: "I came here, having as I thought, finished my work, but I find so much original matter here and so many emendations to make, that I am ready to despair. Whatever may be the result of my labors, nobody can say that I have not worked hard like a brute beast: but I do not care for the result. The labor is in itself its own reward and all I want."

And when at last the book was finished—that is the "Rise of the Dutch Republic,"—early in 1854, discouragement took material shape in the distinct refusal of the great London publisher, Murray, to undertake the issue of it! "Murray received me most civilly," he writes on May 10, 1854, "and impressed me very agreeably. He seemed interested in my subject, and entertained the question of publishing as favorably as I could expect. When I went away his porter accompanied me to my hotel, which is only one street from Albermarle street where Murray resides, took away the whole of the manuscript in his bag, and it is at present in the publisher's possession. Murray is to give me an answer in a fortnight at farthest." We do not learn from the letters whether it took Murray quite the fortnight to come to the

conclusion he would not publish it. At any rate some one else had to be found, and it was finally published by Mr. John Chapman at the author's expense, his father and uncle generously assisting to a considerable amount. About Christmas, 1854, the volumes came from the press, and now the question of success was immediately settled. Everywhere the history met with the most enthusiastic praise. The fame of the author spread over civilized Europe, and he was appreciated no less by his countrymen.

It was with all these blushing honors thick upon him that Motley addressed himself to the task of preparing for his second work, "the History of the United Netherlands," continuing the story of the Dutch Republic after the death of William the Silent. In view of the final result, it is amusing to note what the extent of the work appeared to him to be before he began to write: "If I receive enough encouragement, which I don't expect, to finish this work, I shall write three more volumes, in order to bring my history down to the Peace of Westphalia, 1648." The four volumes of the United Netherlands only brought him to the beginning of the "Twelve Years' Truce," or 1609. The two volumes on Barneveld just barely enabled him to touch the end of that Truce; and the whole of the Thirty Years' War, from 1618 to 1648, which ended contemporaneously with the Eighty Years' War (1568–

1648) had to be left in abeyance, for with his eye upon that period, and with materials collected in preparation for it—illness at first and death at last forbade him to go on. It is pleasing to notice that success and fame did not lower his ideal in writing, or lessen the stimulus or taste for genuine hard work. Now was

right to make thorough work. When my two works are both finished, I can not help thinking that they will have a considerable value even in the money-market. But at the same time it is impossible for me to do anything at all unless I discard all such ideas from my mind when I am writing. The moment a man begins to write



CITY HALL, THE HAGUE.

undertaken that simultaneous collecting of notes by means of copyists and secretaries in various places at once. But laboriously did Motley himself go over all the material to note what was of use to him, and to direct his assistants what or how much to transcribe. He observes to his father: "I am not making much money by such operations, but I believe I am doing

for money, it is apt to be all over with his true reputation." And to his mother: "In short I can not write at all, except by entirely forgetting there is such a thing as printing and publishing." It is rare that such an elevation of tone is retained by the author of established fame and an assured sale for his works.

We have seen Motley at work on

his history in Dresden and in Brussels. For his final work, that on "John of Barneveld" and treating of the period of the Twelve Years' Truce, he established his residence or his headquarters in Holland, at the Hague. As we had an opportunity of personally tracing the spots identified with his brief stays and longer residence there, and as it is no more than natural that we should want to observe somewhat closely his connection with the country whose history he so nobly illustrated—we shall devote the remainder of our space to these traces of Motley at the Hague.

From his letters we gain the information, as already mentioned, that he made a visit to Holland in the summer of 1851, immediately upon his arrival in Europe. His mind was then saturated with the reading of Dutch printed authorities; the whole outline—not very meager either—of the story was vividly present to his mind. And so with all the points of historic interest clearly before him, he doubtless made a visit to every historic spot, in order to be able to give local coloring to his subsequent writing. In the summer of 1853, he spent six weeks at the Hague. "The six weeks we spent at the Hague," he writes to his mother, November 20, 1853, "were pleasant for Mary and the children, and useful for me. The children were ducked in the North Sea, and I was buried in the deep bosom of the Dutch Archives, much to the invigoration of all." He does

not mention the hotel he stopped at then, but to judge from his description of the hour of table d'hôte, and (still more convincingly) that of the character of the guests—"many members of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate, ex-Ambassadors and Cabinet Ministers"—it must have been the same one he stopped at when alone in the summer of 1858, of which more anon. He was now of course quite unknown: but a few of the officials in the office of the Royal Archives and in the Royal Library knew what he was about. But from these he experienced the most cordial assistance and interest. One of them mentioned with gratitude in his preface to the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Mr. (since Dr.) Campbell, who was assistant librarian at the time of his labors on the history but who became chief librarian later—it was our fortune to meet frequently during a stay of six months at the Hague in 1889. The name indicates descent from a Scotch family, but for generations the Campbells have been Dutch. English was well spoken by the venerable Doctor, but as a foreign tongue after all. In 1890 he died. A flying visit was made by Motley to the Hague in January, 1858. He was now but too well known, that is, for purposes of quiet historic research. No sooner was it ascertained that he was present in the country than the newspapers spread the news broadcast. Both to the American historical student and to Motley himself it

was of great importance to discover what impression his work had made there. As he properly observed: "I think it is something better than vanity which causes me to take an honest pleasure in finding my labors appreciated and commended by the persons most fit to sit in judgment upon them. I own that I should have been deeply mortified on arriving in Holland to find that nobody had heard of my book." He discovered that this was far from being the case. Groen Van Prinsterer and Bakhui-zen Van den Brink, the Archivist-general, both spoke highly of his work. "They assured me that almost everybody in Holland had read it, and that there was but one opinion about it, that it had made a very deep and general sensation." A Dutch translation under the scholarly supervision of Van den Brink was already under way. In this same year 1858, Motley again spent six weeks at the Hague. While the writer was at work one day in the Archives in the summer of 1889, after he had signed his name in the book kept for that purpose, the attendant turned back the page to the date July 28, 1858, and there was Motley's autograph. On July 25, he had arrived, and he staid till September 12. This time we have indubitable evidence that he stopped at the Hotel Vieux Doelen, or Oude Doelen. Having become quite confidential in our relations with the keeper of this hostelry in 1889, he informed us that the number of the

room Motley occupied was, we believe, "35." Two elements of doubt, however, exist. We are not sure we remember the number as it was given; neither are we sure that the number as given was the correct one. Our Dutch friends in giving reassuring information to foreign inquirers are apt to be too perfectly sure, quite independent of the exact facts. They dislike to disappoint any person kind enough to be curious about bits of interest in Holland. In January he explained to his wife: "I should have stayed a little longer, but for a reason which seems ridiculous enough to state, but you know me well enough to acquit me of affectation—I could hardly have remained longer without going to see the Queen. Finding that I should be obliged to abandon my beloved solitude, you will think it is very natural that I should decamp." That is, presentation to the Queen would have meant a round of social engagements, and his work was too pressing to allow that. But now with a longer stay before him, he could not avoid being presented to her Majesty. She was reputed the most accomplished and cultured lady—certainly of her exalted station, and even as compared with ladies of lower rank—in Europe. She had, therefore, with avidity and delight read Motley's volumes, and had expressed a strong desire to meet him. He had in the meantime met intimate personal friends of hers in England.

Motley called upon her at the House in the Woods (*Huis ten Bosch*), the palace in the very heart of the beautiful park or "forest," which every tourist to the Hague visits. Every American who has any knowledge of letters will notice there with pride a fine oil portrait of Motley hanging in one of the elegant saloons. It is a token of the appreciation and affection which the gifted lady bore toward our historian. For this interview was the beginning of a friendship which was quite intimate, and was enhanced after Mrs. Motley came to join her husband, and their residence was at the Hague, when the Queen became a frequent visitor in a familiar way at their house. During this same summer (1858), Motley was presented to the King, a man of no special literary tastes, but a hearty lover of his country and its history, an admirer of the virtues of his great ancestor William the Silent. He, therefore, in his soldierly way appreciated Motley's work quite as truly as his more cultured wife, and Motley was very favorably impressed with him.

Now comes an interval of about twelve years—not a counter-part of the ancient Twelve Years' Truce by any means—but one filled up with most portentous events in Motley's native land, as in his own personal history. We find him again at the Hague early in 1871. It was shortly after the unhappy termination of his mission to England. He writes to Dr.

Holmes: "We are not going to live in a royal palace at the Hague, as I read in the American newspapers. The Queen, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted for so many years, has placed a small house which belongs to her, and happens just now to be vacant, at my disposition. I am truly glad to accept the kind offer, as furnished houses are very difficult to obtain at the Hague." The next letter, also to Dr. Holmes, is dated at "*Kleine Loo*," (Little Loo), to distinguish it probably from the grand summer palace of the King called the "*Loo*," in Gelderland. And one can see to-day that pretty little villa, just outside the "forest," almost in the rear of the *Huis ten Bosch*, looking out toward the open meadows, yet with its white walls shimmering among a cluster of trees. It was certainly a fine place for solitude and work; but rather too far away from the Archives. Motley and his family staid there only a few weeks. About May 1st, (1871), moving day in Holland as with us, they went to a house located at No. 6, *Kneuterdyk*, and were domiciled here for about two years. It is situated in the heart of the city, just around the corner from the *Plaats*; obliquely a very good view could be obtained of the famous and beautiful "*Vyver*." An oblique view in the other direction would cause the eye to rest upon the house of *Barneveld*, now the Treasury Department, but without essential external change. And while so conveniently near to

shops, bank, Royal Library (in the magnificent "Voorhout"), Archives, Royal Palace, it was in itself a house of sufficient historic associations to satisfy the most enthusiastic student of Dutch annals. Away back in the beginning of the fifteenth century it stood there: "Modern as it looks," he writes to Dr. Holmes, "it was once the residence of Frank van Borselen, the last husband and consoler of the unhappy Jacqueline of Bavaria. Subsequently it belonged for a time to Count Hohenlo, who figured much in the war of the Republic for independence, and who married one of the daughters of William the Silent. Last,



JOHN DE WITT.

not least, it was the residence of John De Witt, who walked out through the garden just two centuries ago [1672] towards the prison, a stone's throw from here [the Gevangenpoort,

about two hundred steps to the right from Motley's house] to speak with his brother Cornelius, who was locked in it, and whence they were both dragged and torn to pieces by the rabble on the square [the Plaats] which is before my eyes." Daily Motley would leave his door, pass under the archway of the prison gate; so enter the "Buitenhof;" then pass through another archway into the Binnenhof; behold the Hall of the Knights in front of which Barneveld was beheaded; pass along the north side of it, looking up at the very windows of the adjoining building where Barneveld and Grotius were kept prisoners for three quarters of a year; pass through two more archways; pass by the Mauritshuis or National Gallery where Rembrandt's "Anatomy Lesson," and Potter's "Bull" hang; cross the fine square of the Plein, where is a splendid statue of William the Silent; and so enter the noble old granite mansion which was the domicile or hotel of the Amsterdam delegates to the provincial estates or legislature of Holland in the days of the Republic, and which to-day is the depository of the Royal Archives.

In 1876 Motley, having now published all his works, made a final visit to Holland. His wife had died in 1874; the fatal disease that carried him off was upon him and had made him a physical wreck, incapacitated from pursuing his cherished work, not yet completed. He was the guest

of the Queen at the palace in the Woods. It was August, 1876; in May, 1877, came the death-stroke that laid our brilliant historian low before old age had come to bless and crown his days. A few weeks later, in June, 1877, the Queen breathed her last. Thus were these two accomplished

friends near each other in death. The beautiful portrait hangs to-day a silent witness of their friendship; a tribute of Holland's best and highest to the American who told so well the heroic story of her past.

LEONARD IRVING.



HISTORICAL NOTES.

Some interesting facts have been recently brought out in connection with a proposed plan for the compilation and publication by Congress of the Documentary History of our Country. Having in view so comparatively recent a period as that of the Revolutionary era no one unfamiliar with the matter can form any adequate idea of the richness and variety of the historical material in existence, and not yet published. It is scattered through the various State archives, historical societies, in public libraries and in private collections, as well as in the several departments of the government.

It is interesting to note that as far back as 1778, the subject was brought to the attention of Congress, as will be seen by the following memorial letter.

PHILADELPHIA, July 11, 1778.
The Honorable Henry Laurens, Esq.,
President of Congress.

SIR: Viewing Congress as the friends of science as well as the guardians of our liberties, I flatter

myself there can be no impropriety in soliciting their patronage and assistance for a collection of American State papers, which, from its evident utility, they will not deem unworthy of either. The design of it is to furnish materials for a good history of the United States, which may now be very well done, for so rapid has been our political progress that we can easily recur to the first step taken on the continent, and clearly point out our different advances from persecution to comparative liberty and from thence to independent empire. In this particular we have the advantage of every nation upon earth, and gratitude to heaven and to our virtuous fathers, justice to ourselves and a becoming regard to posterity strongly urge us to an improvement of it before time and accident deprive us of the means.

The undertaking will appear, at first view, to be too great for an unassisted individual, and experience has convinced me that although several years incessant application has produced an important collection, yet so numerous are the materials and so much dispersed that a whole

life would be insufficient to complete it in the way in which I have hitherto been obliged to proceed. I now propose to visit each State for that purpose, and must request of Congress a certificate of their approbation of my design, should they approve of it, and a recommendation to the several governors and presidents, grant me free access to the records of their respective States, and permission to extract from them such parts as may fall within the limits of my plan. To enable them to judge of the nature of the collection I beg leave to inclose the titles of some of the materials of which it is to consist, which please to lay before them, and believe me to be, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

EBEN'R HAZZARD.

This letter was referred to a committee, of which Samuel Adams and Richard Henry Lee were members. A favorable report was made, and in accordance with certain resolutions, patronage and facilities were extended to Mr. Hazzard. Two volumes only were published by him, but it is curious that not a single document relating to the rise and progress of the Revolution was included. Mr. Hazzard was soon after appointed postmaster-general and owing to the pressure of ministerial duties and private engagements abandoned the work, and no one ever undertook to complete it.

More than fifty years passed before the matter was again taken up. On

March 2, 1833, Congress authorized the Secretary of State to contract with Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force for the publication of a work, entitled, "The Documentary History of the American Revolution." The work was begun while Edward Livingston was Secretary of State, in 1833, and was continued until Mr. Marcy's time (1853,) at which date only nine volumes were published. The work was limited to twenty volumes, but was practically abandoned, it is believed, by the failure of Mr. Marcy to examine the material which Mr. Force submitted for a tenth volume. Scholars have never ceased to deplore the discontinuance of this work, and efforts have been made from time to time to cause its resumption.

If then, in 1778, under all the adverse circumstances surrounding that period, the Continental Congress ordered that to be done, which it is now proposed to do, would it be presumptuous for historical scholars, and the people for their posterity, to ask Congress to undertake it now? Many of the records of the eventful story are moldering or perishing. Beyond a comparatively few reprints of the correspondence of the men of the revolutionary period by private enterprise, the compilation by several States of records of their soldiers, the publications of the various historical societies and the noteworthy efforts by individual scholars, no at-

tempt to complete the documentary history of the United States as a whole has been made.

The history of those times, as contemplated by Peter Force, fell naturally into several distinct periods.

I. The origin of the several colonies; their charters, bills of rights, and the public papers previous to and their condition in 1763.

II. From 1763 to the Congress of 1765 at New York.

III. From 1765 to the Congress of 1774 at Philadelphia.

IV. From 1774 to the Declaration of Independence.

V. From 1776 to the definitive treaty of peace.

VI. From 1783 to 1789, the organization of our government.

The documents illustrating events prior to 1774 are mainly in the archives of Great Britain, and in the archives of the original States and papers in possession of individuals. From 1774 to 1789 the principal parts can be supplied from papers already in the possession of the government, those in State archives and from the various sources, to which reference has been made.

It is of interest to note in this connection, the bill for the Hall of Records now before Congress, and the bill recently introduced by Senator Proctor, to provide for the "collection, custody and arrangement of

the records of the American Revolution." This latter bill proposes to transfer the records from the other departments to the War Department to be properly arranged for use. It is supposed that this branch of the records is embraced in the army returns of the Revolution, of which no complete publication has ever yet been made. All this is from every consideration desirable, but it would be a pity that only one branch or chapter of the greater work should be considered.

For this a committee of scholars selected and authorized by Congress, would make an admirable starting point, and the recommendations of minds trained in historical research would be of the greatest value in determining the scope and extent of such a work. But at least the work should be undertaken without delay. Our country is no longer in its youth—it is well on in a vigorous manhood, and we should be prepared to put our historical title-deeds in such permanent and illustrative shape as to be a constant inspiration to those who are coming after us. Monuments of stone and bronze are properly reared and are enduring testimonies, but these fragments of paper, on which we can read the warrants of our glory and prosperity, become the real source and stimulant of the most vitalizing patriotism.

The Richmond *Times*,
Study of which has always a
American timely word to say on
History in the matters of historical in-
Colleges. terest makes reference

to the fact, that the University of North Carolina is actively engaged in collecting biographical details of the distinguished men who have in the past, more especially in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary eras, contributed to the reputation of the State in various walks in life.

The work is one which should have the approval not only of the citizens of North Carolina but of the people of the South in general. The line of investigation adopted at Chapel Hill will doubtless be extended to very great advantage in accord with the suggestions made by Professor Hart, of Harvard, who has been delivering a series of interesting lectures on the general subject in that university. The investigation should be enlarged so as to include every side of the past history of the State, although all are more or less involved in the biographies of its most celebrated men.

The example originally set by the Johns Hopkins, and now followed by Chapel Hill, should be imitated, says the *Times*, by all the other leading institutions in the Southern States. Only in this way can a vast mass of most important facts be rescued from the oblivion into which they have

either fallen or are rapidly falling. With our great universities the centres of an active, aggressive, historical spirit, results would be accomplished in a comparatively short time which would take generations for isolated historical scholars to bring about.

It is only a question of a few years for all our educational institutions of the highest class to come to look upon this work as one of the principal duties which they are called upon to perform. Nothing would add more to their usefulness, invest them with greater distinction, or furnish their students with subjects for study of more fascinating and enduring interest.

An Old
Slave
Trader.

It appears on newspaper authority that an innocent looking old oil-brig now plying between New York and Southampton, England, is no other than an old-time slave trader known as the "Telenande." With the present sentiment on this subject we find it hard to realize that we are scarcely a generation removed from this sorrowful iniquity of the past. We are apt to forget that the very constitution of our republic protected the barbarity and forbade its abolition previous to the year 1808. True, the interdict was ready and took effect the moment the limitation expired, but this was, perhaps, as much from policy as principle, to stop the importation of

negroes, which was altogether to the interest of the so-called border States, one of whose industries, so to call it, was the raising of slaves for their more southern neighbors. Since each prime African landed in the rice, cotton or sugar plantations would bring a thousand dollars, we are not to suppose so lucrative, if so infamous a trade, would immediately cease although forbidden by law, nor even when made piracy and punishable with death. Accordingly this old oil-brig, the "Telenande," was built in an English port as late as the year 1844, expressly for the trade, in "ivory" or "black-ivory" so-called, between the west coast of Africa and New Orleans. Time and again, it is said, the space under her hatches, now converted into an immense oil-tank, has been crowded almost to suffocation with human beings torn from their country and friends, and herded in the filthy pen. In such service the brig continued, until she was captured early in the civil war by the United States sloop, "Essex," and made into an honest merchantman,—this, as it will be observed, only about thirty years ago.

By common consent of maritime and civilized nations, slaving is now made piracy on the high seas. To the Arabs is given to-day the distinction of being the slave traders of the world, though some others, and especially the Portuguese, have had slow consciences in this matter. By

the way, the sentiment at present and formerly on the subject, furnishes a notable example of the vagaries of that peculiar instrument—the human conscience. Edward Everett Hale lately called attention to the fact that Daniel Defoe, a genuinely religious and conscientious man, had no suspicion there could be anything wrong in the slave trade. He supposed his public to be in sympathy with himself in this regard, since his Robinson Crusoe shows no slightest regret for having engaged on a slaver. On the contrary, he makes his man Friday a slave, and so takes him about in Europe and America, where indeed at the time not the slightest idea of wrong would attach to such a circumstance.

In King Philip's and other wars with the Indians, our New England forefathers sold the prisoners as slaves to the West Indies. Philip's wife and child thus died in slavery. The rum and iron-ware now sent to be used in barter with the Africans formerly went to buy the Africans themselves. It was an important trade, in which Massachusetts took a goodly share. A fact brought out by Mr. Weeden, in his *Economic and Social New England*, strikingly illustrates the obtuseness of the mercantile conscience, and, indeed, of the public conscience generally in the colonial days. Peter Faneuil, Boston's benefactor, for whom the Cradle of Liberty is named, was engaged in the slave trade for many years; and at the time of his

death a slaver named for him, "The Jolly Bachelor," was on one of her outward voyages. Curiously enough the period of the slave trade from Africa to America embraces precisely three centuries. In 1564, one Hawkins made the first successful slave trading voyage to this continent. In 1864 the last vessel sailed westward from Africa, and the British officers grimly reported to their admiralty that she was a brig on this diabolical mission, but *name unknown, and lost at sea!* Perhaps this was a fitting end.

The Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Salem Witchcraft. We have a novelty in the way of keeping anniversaries in the recent commemorative gatherings on the site of that world-famous horror and delusion, known as "Salem Witchcraft." Not often are we found celebrating defeats, nor are we fond of reminding ourselves of errors—our own or our ancestors. Yet the convocation at Danvers, Mass., February 17, under the auspices of the Danvers Historical Society, and the second meeting, February 29, in Academy Hall, Salem, in charge of the Essex Institute, were of this character, marking as they did, the completion of two full centuries since the initiation of those brief but pitiful persecutions. At Danvers no less than seven societies were represented: the Massachusetts Historical, New England Historical-Geneologi-

cal, Manchester Historical, Dedham Historical, Essex Institute, Lexington Historical and Danvers Historical Societies. Mr. A. C. Goodell read an exhaustive paper on the subject of Witchcraft. Rev. George E. Ellis of Boston, Rev. C. B. Rice of Danvers, and Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley of New York, gave addresses.

The subsequent meeting at Salem was held on the fifth Monday of February, precisely two hundred years from the issue of the first warrants, in the year 1692. W. S. Nevins read the original warrant for the arrest of Sarah Good. Two others, Fituba, the Indian servant, and Sarah Osburn, were also arrested upon that same eventful day. Mr. Nevins explained that neither the committee nor the Essex Institute in making the arrangements had any intention of bringing discredit upon the Salem of to-day. The movement was in the interest of historical truth. Much which has passed current as history concerning these troubles of two hundred years ago is false; more is misleading because misunderstood. The object, then, is not to revive or perpetuate an unhappy memory, but to correct mistakes and misapprehension in a matter already so bruited abroad that it can never be forgotten.

Mr. Goodell referred the origin of the delusion to two principal causes, first, physical, and secondly, sociological. They were the same

which had long prevailed, and still continued to prevail throughout Europe, with wider and yet more disastrous results. The statements and testimonies of "the bewitched" are not to be entirely attributed to malice against their victims. Of course the popular belief and excitement opened the way for malicious accusations, since a trial meant simply condemnation and the gallows. To be denounced was to be destroyed; hence it would often seem safer to be "afflicted" and wreak a spite than to be the innocent party.

Witch-hunters went about making a gain by securing the destruction of innocent men and women. It was still the age of superstition. There was a popular, and very vivid belief in the frequent presence and diabolical machinations of Satan. The wildest stories of his performances were current and scarcely questioned. The power of magic and the evil eye could not be doubted. All this made it easy for people of hysterical temperaments and excitable imaginations to fall into hallucinations. The example and influence of Sir Matthew Hale, in England, who presided at two witch-trials, and the published beliefs of Cotton Mather contributed not a little to aggravate the disorder.

There is little justice or reason in

the distinctive term "Salem Witchcraft." Salem never had any such monopoly of the superstition as this term would imply. Salem is but a mote in a dark expanse of delusion and sorrow. In the Salem horror nineteen innocent persons were executed; but the number hung, or burned, or destroyed for this imaginary crime of witchcraft makes the heart sick to contemplate. In the two German cities of Bamberg and Zeil, in the fourteen years from 1625 onward, more than six hundred accused persons were tortured and burned, and among them little girls from seven to ten years of age. "Bamberg Witchcraft" would seem a more significant term.

The Salem delusion might be celebrated as the end of such terrible folly in America, and the beginning of the end in all civilized lands. Indeed, the claim is fairly sustained that Massachusetts Bay Colony proved herself to be ahead of her time in this very instance. The delusion raged briefly; the executions were all embraced within seven months. All prosecutions were stayed, and in April of the following spring the governor's proclamation made a clean sweep and jail-delivery of every soul under charge of sorcery. From that time this delusion was doomed, and passed rapidly away.

THE SOUTHERN SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

II.

In a former article the story of the inception and organization of the Southern society was given, with some general account of the aims and tendencies, progress and prosperity of the organization. A more detailed relation of the objects of the society, as they were defined in the minds of its founders, will be in place at this point, and in regard to a certain feature, carefully provided for from the first, will have a special historic interest and value.

It will be remembered that at a meeting of the members at Morello's restaurant, Nov. 9, 1886, the society was formally organized. A constitution and by-laws were adopted, and the regular officers and an executive committee elected. It was decided to publish the constitution, but before this was done, the executive committee appointed a sub-committee "to formulate the objects of the society." The report of the sub-committee, as accepted by the executive committee, and thus made part of the proceedings of the society, was as follows:

"The present seems a fitting time for the establishment of a Southern society in New York. "We have

already, societies for the preservation of many of the distinctive elements of our national character. The New England society perpetuates the Puritan virtues that have given to the American some of his best and most enduring characteristics. The St. Patrick's Alliance cherishes and fosters those admirable traits and qualities imparted to us by the Celtic race. The Holland society preserves and exalts the excellencies of our Dutch ancestors. The Huguenot, the St. George's, St. Andrew's, and various other eminent and flourishing societies, claim the full heritage of moral and intellectual worth bequeathed to us by the illustrious ancestries they represent.

"Since the abolition of slavery, the distinct and peculiar social organization of the old South has become so essentially modified by the exigencies of the change in its political economy, that it has practically ceased to exist; and the South of to-day forms but one component and concordant part of a now homogenous whole. But the best of the old influences still survive, and will be long recognized as formative agents in the development of the national character.

"Now that the prejudices engendered by the war are dead, we, who are of Southern birth or ancestry, and who believe that the South has contributed her quota of all that is good in American life, should organize to perpetuate what is best in the customs, manners and character of our ancestors. With such objects this society has been formed, and to be effective should act with promptness, since the knowledge to be preserved rests, in large measure, in the memories of those whose lease of life cannot now have long to run.

"To effect these purposes the society will gather all existing books and writings illustrative of Southern life; will endeavor to induce and encourage those peculiarly cognizant of Southern traditions and customs to commit their knowledge to writing, that it be not lost; will honor and promote authors who have written or shall write upon these subjects, and will undertake to fix and set forth the influence of the Southern element in the development of the national character. The society will not trench upon the domain of controversial history, or permit the discussion or introduction of political or sectional differences, but will devote itself to the commemoration of Southern social life, manners and character. On suitable occasions the society will be ready to unite in whatever public expression is required to promote the honor and dignity of the country, or of this noble city, whereto

the members have transferred their home.

"A further, and not the least important purpose of the society will be the promotion of the acquaintance and social intercourse of Southern residents of New York; the extension of proper courtesies to non-resident Southerners, who may from time to time visit the city, and desire to avail themselves of the privileges and advantages which the society may provide; and the proffer of sympathy and a helping hand to deserving cases of misfortune or distress among us. As the membership shall warrant the outlay, the society will provide full and proper conveniences for the due fulfillment of its social objects.

"This is a general outline of the aims and ends of those who have founded this society. It is hoped that they will meet the approval of all good men. In their completion, and in execution of the details through which they will be made effective, the suggestion and co-operation of all Southerners is earnestly besought."

One might well pause to view the society in the light of the generosity, catholicity and broad patriotism of this statement of its objects. But we have set out especially to consider the peculiar work and task undertaken by the society and here dwelt upon—to conserve and perpetuate all resources of every possible description illuminating the character, cus-

toms, manners and history of the South. The accomplishment of this purpose must necessarily take the shape of a library, and in the new constitution of the society, adopted Oct. 29, 1889, we find this need met by a special provision in the organic instrument of the society, constituting Article XIV. of the constitution, which is as follows:

"Section 1. The society shall, as soon as may be practicable, establish a library, which shall be confined, as far as possible, to those works which relate to the history and literature of the South, in order that it may portray the character and genius, and perpetuate the memories and traditions of the Southern people.

"Section 2. The committee on Literature and Art, subject to the direction and control of the executive committee, shall have charge of the library and reading-room, and of all the books, periodicals, papers and works of art belonging to the society, and shall have power to solicit and receive donations and to select and purchase books, periodicals and works of art for the society."

In the eyes of the student of history and the antiquarian, this undertaking of the New York Southern Society "to cherish and perpetuate the memories and traditions of the Southern people," is its most interesting feature; and if successfully performed will be considered, in the minds of many, its best excuse and reason for existence. No one can

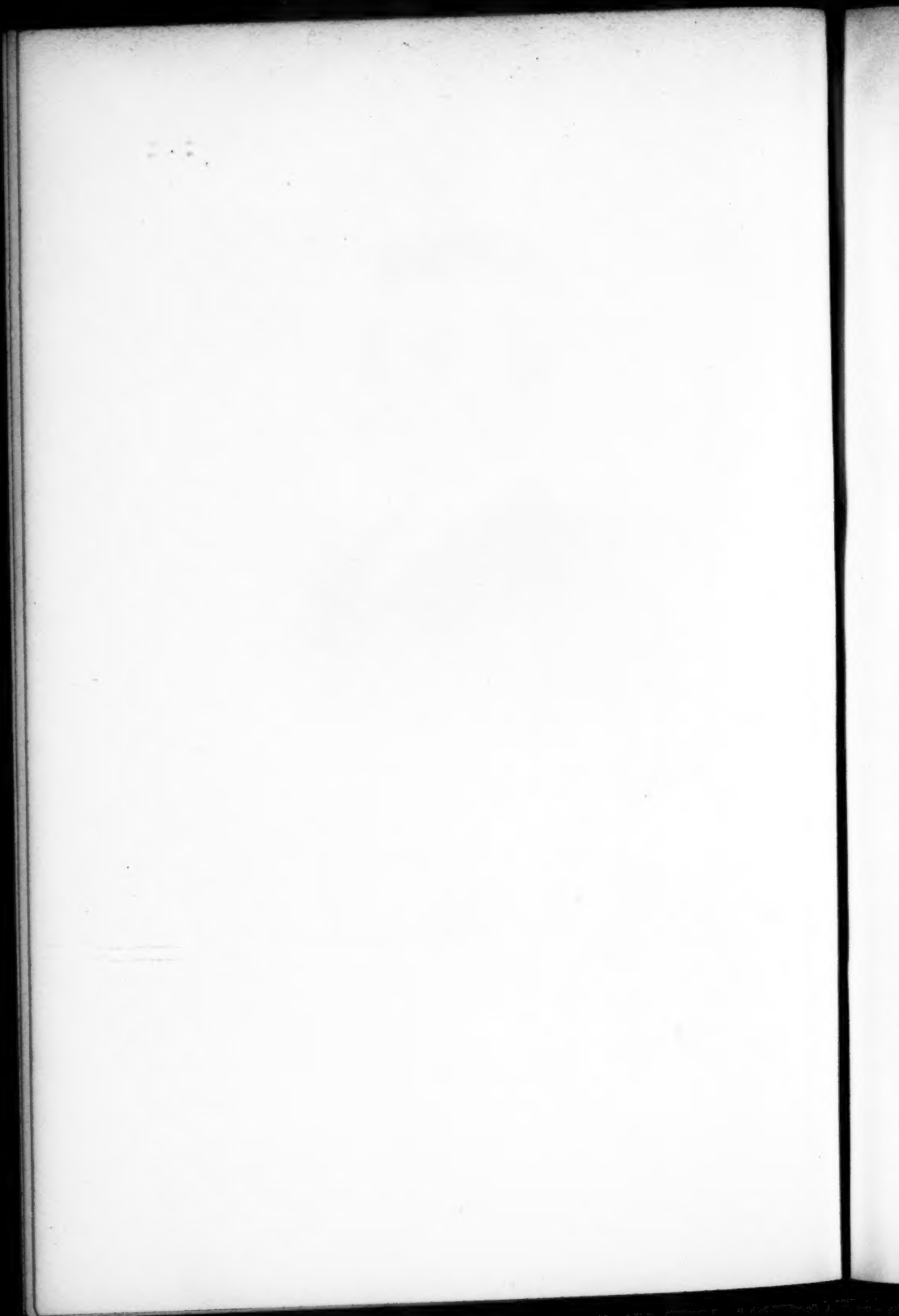
estimate the value of a gift from the present to the future, of such a library and collection of special materials as has been indicated. And especially invaluable and remarkable must be the result if members of the society, true to their avowed purpose and principles, will truly earnestly "endeavor to induce and encourage those peculiarly cognizant of Southern traditions and customs to commit their knowledge to writing, that it be not lost." It is gratifying to know that a promising beginning in the directions outlined has already been made by the gift to the society, from one of its members, Mr. Hugh R. Garden, of an extensive nucleus for a library. The account of this acquisition in the "Fourth Annual Report" of the society is as follows:

"At the last annual meeting it was announced that one of the members of the society was engaged in collecting a Southern Historical Library, which he proposed to give to the society. A thousand volumes, carefully selected, have already been placed in the 'Home' as the first installment of this gift. By resolution of the society, the library will be called the 'Garden Library.' The catalogue embraces many rare and valuable, and in some instances almost unknown works, histories, biographies, essays, memoirs, speeches and novels portraying every phase of Southern life and character. Here will be found books, social, political, religious and military, by authors



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whose names are inseparably associated with the history of our country, providing material for the future historian which he could not otherwise obtain.

"It has been deemed of the greatest importance, not only to Southerners residing here, but to Southerners everywhere, that there should be a library in this great city, in which may be found at all times documentary authority upon every subject relating to the history, literature and institutions of the South. Every effort will be made to carry out this

object, and make this library a distinctive and attractive feature of the society."

These words show a very adequate appreciation of the situation. If the task is well performed, it will be by the personal care and attention of individual members. A general and impersonal belief in the benefit of a library collection is not enough; but it will be such generous activity and expenditure of time and means as shown in the example of the first donor, that will actually build up the library.

HUGH R. GARDEN.

Mr. Hugh Richardson Garden has been most intimately associated with the growth and development of the Southern society. For the past two years he has been its president, and to his guiding hand and fertile mind the society is largely indebted for its recent period of remarkable progress.

Nearly three years ago, in May, 1889, Mr. Garden presented the society with a peculiarly valuable library, consisting of his private collection of books and documents on Southern history, biography and literature. One of the objects embraced in the original plan of the organization was to "gather all existing books and writings illustrative of Southern life;" but the energies of the society had been so completely occupied in

maintaining its own footing that practically nothing had been done during the first three years of its existence, towards the formation of a library. But, fortunately, Mr. Garden for a long time had been accumulating valuable materials in the precise line contemplated by the society, and his generous donation of these works furnished the foundation for what it is designed shall become one of the most unique, interesting and useful libraries in the country. This gift was made just after the society had moved into its new club-house on Twenty-fifth street, at the time of the centennial celebration of the anniversary of Washington's inauguration. The motives which prompted the graceful act are best set forth in

Mr. Garden's own words, in a letter to the president of the Southern society written at the time.

"The acquisition of a home by our society," he wrote, "enables me to execute a long-cherished plan, and its happy coincidence with the centennial of Washington's inauguration makes it doubly a labor of love. I am engaged in the collection of literary works which portray the character, genius, history and traditions of the Southern people. When completed within the limits I have now defined there will be, as a foundation for future acquisition, about one thousand volumes. I desire, through you, to present these volumes to the New York Southern society to form the basis of a Southern Historical Library in this city with the firm conviction that I can render no greater service to the South, or to the members of our society, than by laboring to preserve in this home of our manhood the traditions which cluster about the homes of our youth."

The strong feeling and sentiment which Mr. Garden cherishes for the South and Southerners, and which is a marked characteristic and has especially qualified him for his position of president of the society, is an inheritance from a long line of Southern ancestors, a number of whom were illustrious in the histories of South Carolina and Virginia. His two great-grandfathers on his father's side were Chancellor Henry William

de Saussure and Governor Thomas Gibbes of South Carolina. The first of these was descended from Huguenots who fled from France upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. He was taken prisoner by the British in Charleston in 1781, when a young man of seventeen, confined aboard a prison ship, and finally exchanged at Philadelphia. Upon his release he immediately began the study of law in the latter city under Jerry Ingersoll, a famous lawyer of that period. He married Miss Ford of Morristown, New Jersey; became director of the mint under Washington in 1794, and subsequently, for nearly thirty years, was chancellor and president of the highest court of equity in South Carolina. Thomas Gibbes, one of the colonial governors and chief justice of South Carolina, belonged to one of the oldest families of the State, having come from Kent, England, in the early part of the seventeenth century. Wilmot S. Gibbes, descendant of the governor and grandfather of Mr. Garden, was one of seven brothers, two of whom removed to New York and New Jersey. Their descendants have been identified with the history and social life of New York for many years.

The two great-grandfathers on his mother's side were also men of note. One of them was General Abram Buford, a commander of Virginia troops in the Revolutionary war under General Greene. The other, Captain William Richardson, a de-

scendant of William Richardson of Jamestown, Va., was a member of the South Carolina Provincial Congress and Council of Safety, and captain of South Carolina troops. His plantation, "Bloomhill," on the "high hills of Santee," became on several occasions the headquarters of Sumpter and Marion.

To understand the derivation of Mr. Garden's name it becomes necessary to mention his great-uncle, Major Alexander Garden, who had married the sister of his grandfather Gibbes. Major Garden was of Scotch descent; the son of the distinguished physician and botanist of the same name of Charleston. During the Revolutionary war the son was sent by his father to Scotland to be educated at the university of Edinburgh. Not content with such banishment from the stirring scenes at home, the young man, without his father's consent, returned to America and entered the Continental army. He was first, ensign in the legion, and afterwards on the staff of "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and later, aide-de-camp to Major-General Greene. After the war he lived on his plantation, "True Blue," in South Carolina. He was a prominent member of the society of Cincinnati and author of several volumes entitled, "Garden's Anecdotes of the Revolution." The two children of Major Garden having died without issue, after a not uncommon custom in South Carolina, in order to perpet-

uate the name, Mr. Hugh R. Garden's father, Alester Garden Gibbes, assumed the name of Alester Garden by a special act of the legislature.

Alester Garden, as he now became, married Elizabeth Richardson, after whose family their son, Hugh Richardson Garden, was named. The father was a lawyer, educated at South Carolina College and practiced law at Columbia with his uncle, William F. de Saussure, who served in the United States Senate for a short time to complete the term of John C. Calhoun. But when Hugh was about three years of age his father died—cut down just as he was entering the prime of life. The son, in his turn, entered South Carolina College, graduating with distinction in 1860.

The ardor and energy of youth and fresh inspiration of his college life did not leave the young man any choice, but to enter the service of his State. Moreover, he was descended from a group of soldiers. He saw active service from the beginning of the war to its close, and was, indeed, in the thick of a large number of the fiercest and bloodiest engagements of the four years' struggle. He assisted as a private at the capture of Fort Sumpter and during the first battle of Manassas, a little later, acted as color-bearer of Kershaw's Second South Carolina Regiment. He then organized a battery of artillery which was dubbed the "Palmetto Battery." The guns for this

battery were cast at Columbia under his personal direction and supervision from the church-bells of the surrounding towns, which were freely contributed. These guns did good service, but were exchanged later for heavier ones which had been captured at Harper's Ferry. Among the important battles in which he was engaged as an artillery commander in the army of Northern Virginia were Antietam, Manassas, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Fort Stedman and the Crater. At the time of the Appomatox surrender he was in command of the artillery of General Lee's rear guard.

At the battle of Gettysburg Captain Garden carried from the field the only Union guns known to have been taken during the engagement. This feat was performed on the evening of the second days' fight, at the close of the fierce struggle in the wheat field, which has been designated as the "whirlpool of the battle." During the third days' fight he executed an order which exposed him to the fire of the entire Federal line. Throughout the great artillery duel which preceded Pickett's famous charge, Garden's battery had been engaged in front of the peach orchard. At the moment of the hottest cannonading he received an order from General Longstreet, through Colonel Latrobe, to advance his guns. He proceeded to do so by sections, and soon had his first section planted about three hundred yards in

advance of the main line of Confederate artillery. The object of the manœuvre was to draw the fire of the enemy and thus open the way for Pickett's advance. It was successful. In less than five minutes after the advance of the two first guns, they received the concentrated fire from the Federal batteries on the opposite ridge. Every man and horse of the section was either killed or wounded. It required the manœuvring of fresh details of horses and men under that murderous fire to withdraw the guns, but the feat was successfully performed.

Immediately after Lee's surrender, the young soldier entered the law school of the University of Virginia. After his course here he began to practice at Columbia, South Carolina, with W. F. de Saussure, his great-uncle, and former partner of his father. This gentleman whose death occurred some time later, had willed his office at Columbia to Mr. Garden, whom he desired to carry on his practice, and also the valuable law library of Chancellor de Saussure, which had been handed down in the family for four generations. But before possession could be taken this invaluable collection was destroyed by the Columbia fire, and so completely that even the building could not be accurately located.

Unable to endure the military rule of his native State during the reconstruction period, Mr. Garden removed to Virginia, where for many years he

practiced law in all the courts of that State, with headquarters at Warrenton. He was married to Lucy Gordon Robertson, daughter of William J. Robertson, of Charlottesville, for many years judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals. He soon had a considerable corporation business on his hands. He was employed as counsel in the re-organization of the Virginia-Midland Railroad, and his rapidly growing business, especially in the directing of the legal affairs of corporations and large enterprises necessitated his removal to the metropolis in 1883. Since that time he has made a specialty of the law of corporations, and has been charged with the legal concerns as well as with the re-organization of several electric and other companies, involving large and important interests.

During the past year and a half he has been laboriously engaged as a member of the Virginia bondholders' committee in endeavoring to perfect a plan and carry out the details of the settlement of the debt of that State. This is the most difficult and delicate financial problem which has confronted any Southern State or corporation since the war. It has convulsed Virginia politically, two or three times, and the settlement now about to be consummated required the best energies of such men as F. P. Olcott, president of the Central Trust Company, ex-President Cleveland, Edward J. Phelps, Thomas F. Bayard, William Lidderdale, governor of

the Bank of England, and other foremost bankers and statesmen in this country and England.

This famous case has caused incessant litigation in Virginia for seventeen years, with no approach to settlement. Some three thousand law-suits are now pending, but happily all of these will be settled by the contemplated adjustment. The great work of the committee has been that of a peace commission to restore confidence and produce harmony among the contending litigants. A basis of settlement has been at length agreed upon, and the Act embodying it passed by the Virginia Legislature. The rest is merely a question of details. The final settlement of this intricate affair will be a blessing to the entire financial world, and an inestimable boon to Virginia and the South, which has long lain under a financial cloud of discredit by the phenomenon of their principal, and once, financially, strongest State, suffering the reproach of repudiation. To the patience and endurance of Mr. Garden and his co-laborers the present outlook of speedy adjustment is due.

As has been suggested, the same interest and sentiment towards people and things Southern which have inspired him in this work, have made him especially useful as president of the Southern society. He has imparted his enthusiasm to others, and has pointed an elevation of sentiment, and cherished the traditional

hospitality and sociability of Southern life among the members, and especially the younger members of the society. The result has been a widespread movement outside the strict limits of the organization, in bringing into fellowship and association thousands of Southern men, scattered throughout New York City and vicinity. But it should not be inferred from this special interest in his own kinsfolk and associates, and traditional home, that Mr. Gar-

den is narrow or sectional in his thought and sympathies. The extreme opposite is the truth. His warmest friends are of Northern birth; and his character well illustrates the principle that only a mind capable of the broadest patriotism and most far-reaching good-will, can entertain, as well, unselfish sentiments of birth and early association, and realize, in its highest sense, the responsibilities which rest upon an influential citizen of New York.

ECKSTEIN NORTON.

It would be difficult to find another large family, all the members of which possess such executive energy and financial ability as has characterized the six sons of William and Mary Hise Norton of Kentucky. It must have been a rare combination of qualities in the father and mother to have found such splendid illustration and justification in the careers of the children. William Norton, born in Harrisburg, Pa., Sept. 2, 1781, settled in Russellville, Ky., in 1810. Mary Hise, born in Westmoreland County, Pa., settled in Russellville about the same year. The two were married April 11, 1813, and had born to them six sons and three daughters.

The father owned a hardware store and farm at Russellville and conducted a small manufactory of nails and iron implements from which he derived a

comfortable competency. The two older brothers, George W. and John L. began business together in their native town at the age of eighteen and sixteen respectively, in the conduct of a general store. John L. died at the age of twenty-six, but not until he had accumulated a large fortune. The elder brother was president of the Southern Bank of Kentucky, an institution with a phenomenally successful history, and acquired one of the largest private fortunes in the history of Kentucky. He died at Louisville in 1889. The fourth son, William F., who also attained singular success, was a partner of the elder brother in the banking house of G. W. Norton & Company, until both retired from active business in 1885. William died in October, 1886. The third son, Presley E., displayed the

same business abilities as his distinguished brothers. He conducted a business in Russellville, and was connected with the New York firm of Norton, Slaughter & Company with his brother, Eckstein. He died in 1878, having already accumulated a large fortune. Elijah H., the fifth son, studied law, and besides proving his kinship by acquiring a large property, was prominently identified with the political affairs of Missouri. He was elected and re-elected judge of the Twelfth Judicial Circuit, and was elected to Congress in 1860. As member of the Missouri convention of 1861 he voted against secession. He was a leading member of the Missouri convention of 1875 which framed a new State Constitution, and that instrument is frequently styled "Norton's Constitution." In 1876, he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the supreme bench of the State, and in 1878 was elected for a term of ten years to the same position. He declined re-election in 1889, and at the same time refused to become the democratic candidate for governor of the State, since which time he has lived in retirement on his farm near Platte City.

The youngest son, Eckstein, born Dec. 16, 1831, is a familiar figure in financial circles of New York City, having manifested in an eminent degree the aptitude for business enterprises which has characterized this remarkable family. At the age of fifteen we find him engaged in the

work of temperance reform, assisting in the formation of the first temperance society known to have existed among the negroes. About the same time he engaged with a partner in supplying Russellville with religious books, whereby the joint concern realized twelve dollars from an investment of two dollars apiece. With characteristic instinct, perceiving the local market glutted with this sort of wares, Eckstein refused to re-invest his share of the profits, while his partner bought more books, which he could not sell.

In 1850 Eckstein began business in Russellville with Joshua Knowles, but in September, 1851, removed to Paducah and formed a partnership with his brother, William F., whose interest he bought out in 1853. The following year he formed a partnership with Richard Fowler, the two contracting with the Illinois Central Railroad Company to receive and forward all its freight from Cairo, Ill., to points further south. For this purpose they leased a small wharf-boat which Fowler managed while Mr. Norton remained at Paducah, closing up his business and superintending the building of a large floating dock for the Cairo traffic. With this structure he joined his partner at Cairo in 1855. Selling out his business in 1857, Mr. Norton returned to Paducah and again formed a partnership with his brother William, doing a large banking business under the firm name of "Norton

Brothers." This alliance endured until 1867, although in 1864 Mr. Eckstein Norton had removed to New York City to conduct the banking and commission business of the firm of "Norton, Slaughter & Company," composed of himself, his brother, Presley E., Thomas J. Slaughter of St. Louis, and B. H. Wisdom of Clarks-ville, Tenn.

In 1870, with others, Mr. Norton obtained control of the New Orleans and Ohio Rail-road, which extended sixty miles south from Paducah as its northern terminus. The road was re-organized, re-named, and Mr. Norton made president of the company. In 1871 it was consolidated with the Mississippi River road, under the name of the Paducah and Memphis, Mr. Norton again being elected president. In 1872 and 1873 the road was extended forty miles, and he continued his connection with it till 1881.

Mr. Norton was elected a director of the Louisville and Nashville Rail-road Company in July, 1884; in October of the same year was made its vice-president, and in October, 1887, was elected president, which position he held till his resignation in February, 1891. Since Mr. Norton's connection with the company it has risen from a condition of impaired credit and depreciated stock, until now its credit and standing are excellent and it is classed among the good dividend-paying properties of the

country. The directors of the company made every effort to induce Mr. Norton to withdraw his resignation as president, but his private interests had become so extensive that, with his desire to devote more leisure to his family, he declared he must decline the duties of the office. In accepting the resignation the directors of the road adopted a set of resolutions, thanking him for his admirable work.

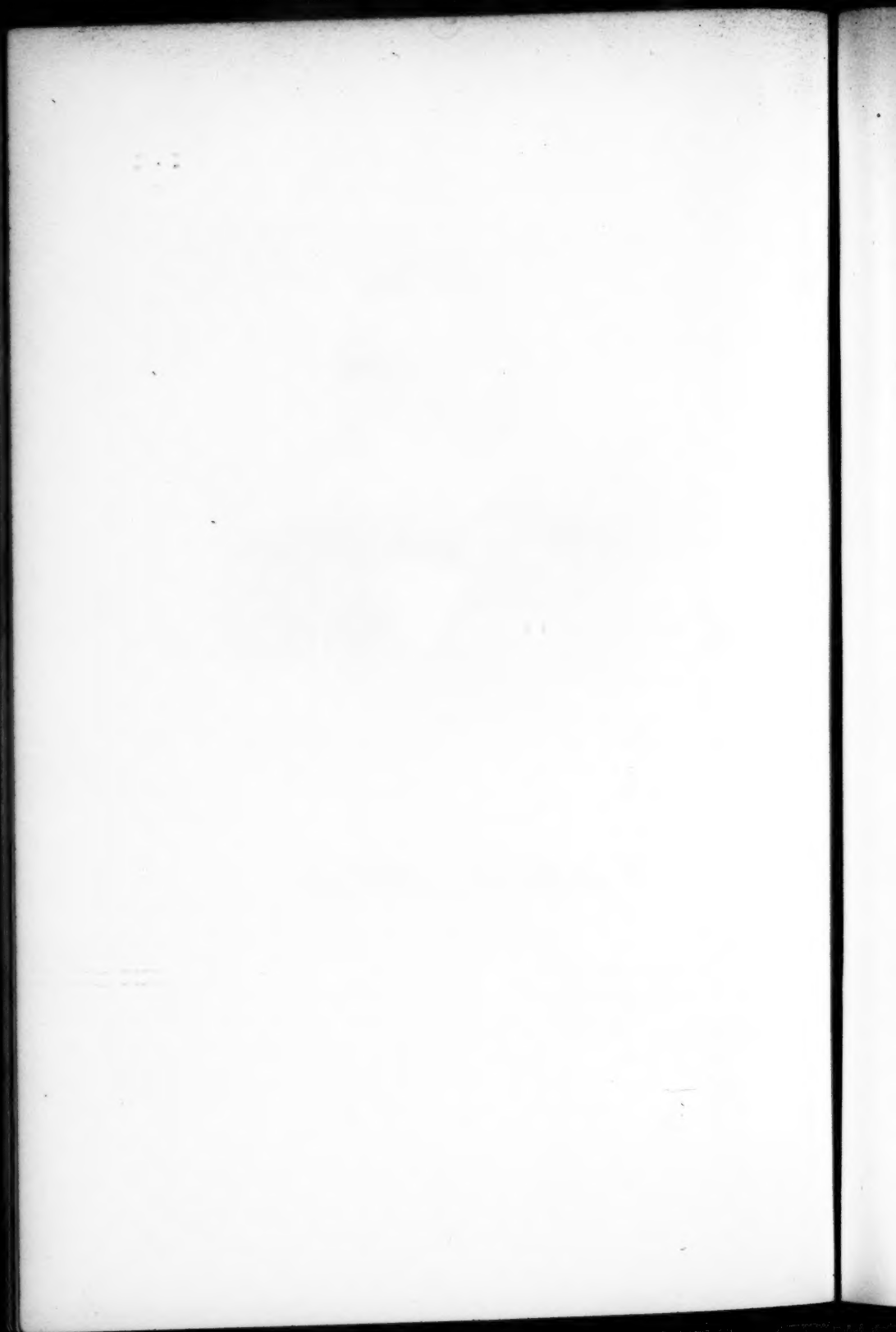
Mr. Norton was married in August, 1864, to Lucy Peyton Moore, of Christian County, Ky., by whom he has had six children, three sons and three daughters. Until his removal to New York City, Mr. Norton was an active member of the Baptist Church, since which time he has been connected with the Dutch Reformed Church. His charities are unostentatious but munificent. With his brother, William, he donated the valuable lot and parsonage of the First Baptist Church of Paducah, Ky., and has made extensive gifts to the college of Russellville, which has developed from the town school of his boyhood. He has also built and donated a large and complete ward to the S. R. Smith Infirmary of Staten Island.

Mr. Norton is genial and hospitable, and a royal welcome and entertainment is always extended to his friends at their home on Fifth avenue by himself and his estimable wife.



Western Book and Engraving Co. Chicago.

Matthew J. Scott



INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST. II.

MATTHEW T. SCOTT.

ONE of the most prominent figures in Central Illinois for many years, was Matthew Thompson Scott, who died at his home in Bloomington, May 21st, 1891. He was identified with many enterprises of importance, and especially noted as one of the largest landed proprietors of the State. Born at Lexington, Kentucky, February 24th, 1828, he came of distinguished ancestry, whose good name he worthily sustained. In a direct line he traced his lineage back on his father's side to Robert Scott, one of the leaders of the Covenanters who joined issues with Monmouth, and met defeat at Bothwell Bridge, in 1679. A defender of the covenant and the crown, Robert Scott was a member of the Scottish Parliament during the reign of Queen Anne, and as such opposed the union of the crown with that of Great Britain, because the name and crown of Scotland did not, in his judgment, receive proper recognition in the new British Parliament. This offence caused him to be incarcerated in the Tower of London, where he remained until released by George I., of the House of

Hanover and descendant of the Stuarts. After his release from the famous prison, he emigrated in company with his personal and political friend, the Earl of Belhaven, to the North of Ireland, where he lived during the remainder of his life.

John Scott, eldest son of Robert Scott, emigrated to America in 1725, and settled in New Jersey. Matthew, a son of this John Scott, was married in 1762 or 1763 to Betsy Thompson, a daughter of William Thompson, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, distinguished as patriot and military commander in the Indian and Revolutionary Wars. In the French and Indian War, Thompson was captain of a troop of mounted militia, and when a battalion of eight companies was recruited in Pennsylvania, after the Battle of Lexington, he was placed in command with the rank of Colonel. The troops of which he thus took command were the first enlisted on the demand of the Continental Congress, and went into camp at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the early part of August, 1775. In the following November, under command of Col-

onel Thompson, they drove back a British landing party at Lechmere Point, and the gallant colonel was commissioned a Brigadier-General March 1st, 1776.

One of the grandsons of William and Betsy Thompson was Matthew T. Scott Sr., who with two brothers emigrated from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, in the early history of that State. One of the brothers was Dr. Joseph Scott, long a prominent citizen of Lexington, Kentucky, and the other Dr. John Scott, was the confidential friend and member of the staff of General William Henry Harrison, in honor of whom the latter named his son Scott Harrison, the father of President Benjamin Harrison. Dr. Scott also named his eldest son after General Harrison, and Dr. Harrison Scott became in later years one of the leading physicians of Illinois.

Matthew T. Scott, upon his removal to Kentucky, became prominently identified with the development of the State, and was recognized during his active life as one of its most distinguished financiers. He became connected with the Northern Bank of Kentucky at its organization and was for thirty years the executive head of that great financial institution, the business of which extended over a wide area of territory. Through the many monetary panics incident to the period of its existence, this bank passed, under the management of Matthew T. Scott, without

ever suspending specie payment, or omitting its regular dividend of eight per cent. The wife of Mr. Scott was a daughter of Isaac Webb, who came of one of the old Virginia families, and who settled near Lexington, Kentucky, at an early date. Mrs. Scott was a sister of Dr. James Webb, father of Lucy Webb, who became distinguished as the wife of Rutherford B. Hayes, nineteenth president of the United States, and one of the noblest of American women.

Of this parentage came Matthew T. Scott, whose prominence as a pioneer and citizen of Illinois entitles him to a place among the historical personages of the State. In Lexington, Kentucky, his birthplace, he received his early educational training. The environments of his youth were such as contributed in the greatest degree to the development of high character, intellectual vigor and true manhood. Lexington was then more noted perhaps than any city west of the Allegheny mountains as a center of wealth, culture and refinement, and, as the home of Henry Clay, was not less prominent as a political Mecca. The stimulus of these environments could not fail to affect even a less susceptible youth than Matthew T. Scott, and in his case, new virtues were added to those which came to him as a rightful heritage from worthy ancestors. After receiving his preparatory training at Lexington, he was sent to Centre College, at Danville, Kentucky, where he grad-

uated with college honors in 1846, when but eighteen years of age.

A year after his graduation he was sent to Ohio by his father to assume the management of a large landed estate in which he was given an interest. He remained there several years managing the interests committed to his charge with success, and developing meantime the keen foresight and business sagacity which made him a conspicuous figure in the greatest of western States in later years. While living in Ohio and giving his attention largely to the management of his affairs there, the range of his vision was by no means confined to the territory in which his farming operations were then carried on. He was familiar with the history of the Illinois country, and had made explorations which convinced him that the young State of Illinois would, in the near future, develop into one of the great commonwealths of the United States. Feeling that the time had come to begin development of the latent resources of this vast section of country, he made for himself and members of his family large investments in Illinois and Iowa lands, which were purchased in the main from the government, and hence were devoid of any kind of improvements.

The lands thus acquired were not held for speculative purposes, but with an energy and tenacity of purpose which were among his distinguishing characteristics, he proceeded

as rapidly as possible to bring them under cultivation and convert them into productive farms. He thus inaugurated a system of improvements which was carried forward on a gigantic scale, and which had a vastly beneficial effect upon a broad area of territory. On one occasion in the later years of his life, when summing up, in conversation with a friend, the results of his labors in this field of industry, he estimated that he had brought under cultivation in Illinois and Iowa, sixteen thousand acres of prairie land, had made over two hundred and fifty miles of hedge fence, had put in over two hundred and fifty miles of ditches for drainage purposes, and had built on his lands nearly two hundred houses.

His first important enterprise in Illinois was the founding of the town of Chenoa, in 1856. Here he owned and cultivated a large tract of land, which was the first large farm in the State, cultivated without fences other than those used to confine his own stock. His successful experiments in farming, without going first to the expense of fencing the lands to be cultivated, and his testimony relative to this matter before a legislative committee, led to the passage of the "No Fence Law" of Illinois, the effect of which was to increase largely the area of cultivated land, and to greatly facilitate the development of the agricultural resources of the State.

Mr. Scott believed that agriculture

must constitute the basis of all prosperity in the west, and that farming lands must inevitably become valuable possessions. It was natural, therefore, that he should extend his early investments as his fortune increased, but his acquisitions were always made with a view to development and improvement. Like his ancestors of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, he was one of the builders of the commonwealth, a promotor of general prosperity, and a potent factor in the advancement of our civilization.

From his farm at Chenoa he removed to Springfield, Illinois, in 1870, and resided there until 1872, when he removed to Bloomington, where he purchased a beautiful home in which he spent the remaining years of his life. At Bloomington he became actively interested in promoting the growth and prosperity of the city and tributary country, and in various important business enterprises. He organized the McLean County Coal Company, and as president of this corporation during the remainder of his life, developed and built up another of the great industries of Central Illinois. A man of keen perceptions and great activity, of public spirit and sterling integrity, his aid was solicited for many enterprises set on foot by men of energy and business capacity, but lacking the substantial resources necessary to success. To these enterprises, so far as they seemed to him to be meritorious, he always extended substantial en-

couragement, and thus he indirectly set in motion the wheels of industries with which he was not directly connected.

He was never a public man in the sense of being a public officeholder; nevertheless, he was one of those men who exert without any apparent effort to do so, a most important influence on any community with which they chance to be identified.

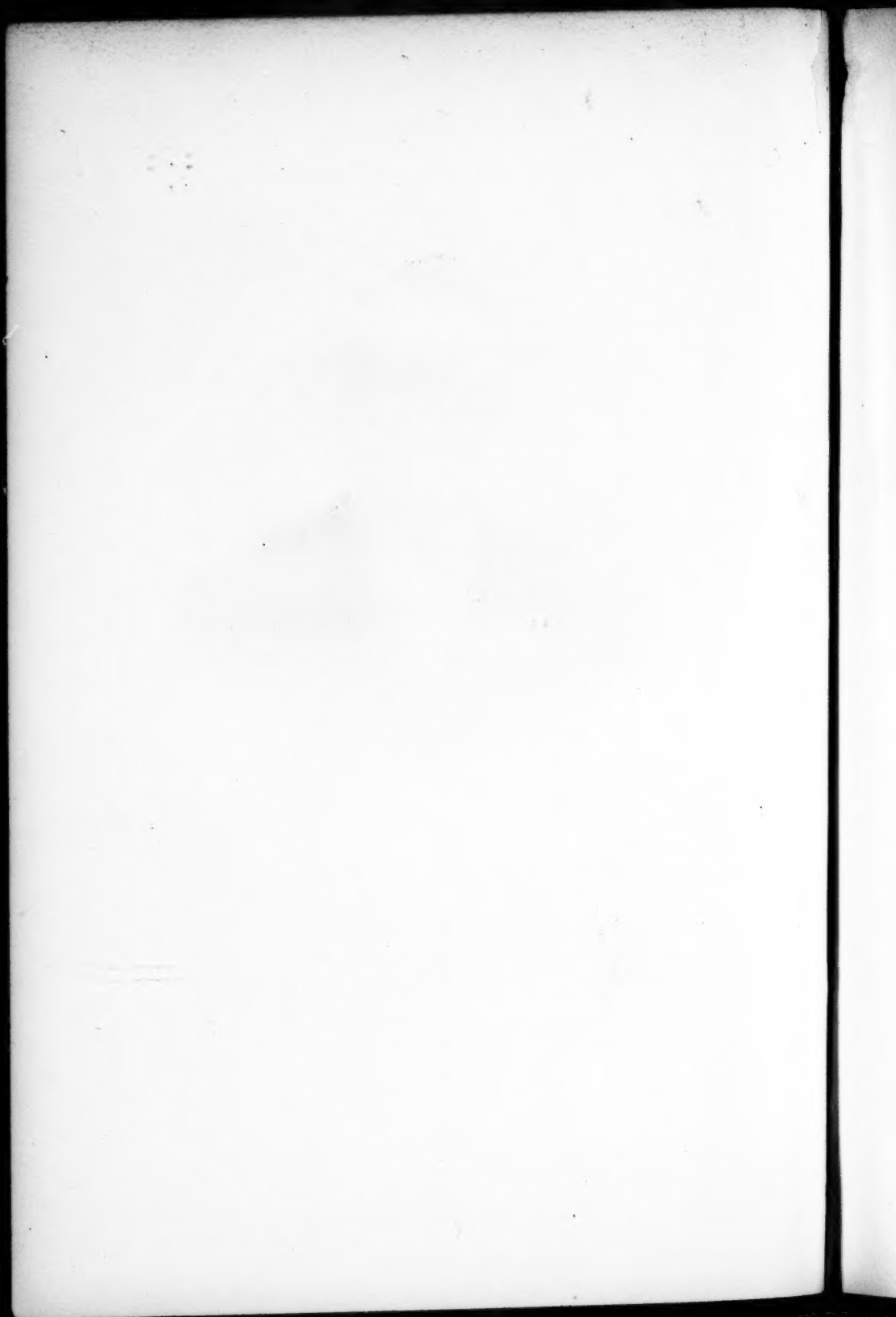
His influence was one which quickened into healthful action the social, moral and industrial pulse of the community, and thus contributed to its upbuilding. In politics Mr. Scott was a "Henry Clay" Whig, prior to the war. In the memorable presidential campaign of 1860, he supported the Bell and Everett "Constitutional Union" ticket, and was a strong advocate of the preservation of the Union through a compromise of the differences between the northern and southern States. Later he affiliated with the Democratic party, and in 1878 with others, founded the Bloomington Bulletin, a Democratic newspaper of which he subsequently became the sole proprietor, and which he sold some years since to Hon. Owen Scott, now a representative in Congress from the Bloomington Congressional District.

"By inheritance and by conviction" says one who has written of Mr. Scott, "he was a Presbyterian. By instinct reverential, this instinct was cultivated by his early training and lifelong associations. A man of frank



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J. P. Crandall



and sincere nature, he despised insincerity and hypocrisy in all its forms, but of all forms of hypocrisy, religious hypocrisy was the most repulsive to him. He was always a reverential worshipper in the house of God, a liberal but unostentatious supporter of his church and its agencies, equally liberal and unostentatious in the support of charitable and benevolent movements, and generous in his private charity."

The death of Mr. Scott was felt by his fellow citizens of Bloomington, and of that portion of the State with the interests of which he had been so prominently identified, to be a public calamity, and his demise occasioned the keenest regret among those who had been most intimately associated with him socially and in business affairs.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Julia Green Scott, and two daughters—Mary Letitia Scott and Julia Green Scott. Mrs. Scott, to whom he was married in 1859, is the daughter of the late Rev. Lewis Warner Green, D. D., then president of Center College, Danville, Kentucky, previously president of Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, and also of Transylvania University, Kentucky. Through her father Mrs. Scott is descended from one of the early colonial families of Virginia, one of her ancestors being Robert Green, a member of the house of Burgesses in 1731. She is also descended through Lawrence Washington, from Leonard Washington, who, with his wife Ann, emigrated to America in 1659 from War-ton County, Lancaster, England.

J. P. BISHOP.

BARNABAS ELDREDGE.

THE pride of the little city of Belvidere, Illinois, is the National Sewing Machine Manufactory, established there a few years since, and now one of the largest, if not the largest manufactory of the kind in the west. The success of this enterprise has been particularly gratifying to the citizens of Belvidere, because they have long believed that their town possessed advantages which should make it one of the manufacturing centers of the State, and can now present convincing evidence in support of their

claims. They also find a large measure of satisfaction in the fact that an enterprise which was conducted with indifferent success in Chicago has been phenomenally successful in Belvidere. It is thought this will encourage other manufactories to seek locations in the smaller cities of Northern Illinois.

The history of the building up of this establishment is one of more than ordinary interest, because it is the history of the building up of a new industry, in competition with

those controlled by old, wealthy and powerful corporations. It is the history of determined, persistent and untiring effort on the part of its chief promoters, when they were beset by difficulties which at times seemed to be insurmountable.

Summarizing this history, it may be said, that something like a dozen years since, Frank T. June was the head of a company engaged in a small way, in manufacturing in Chicago, the old Singer sewing machine, patents on which had expired. The company was known as the June Manufacturing Company, and labored under the difficulty of not being able to turn out a machine satisfactory to the public when compared to later inventions. About the same time, Barnabas Eldredge, also of Chicago, a man of large experience in the handling and sale of improved sewing machines, was endeavoring to introduce into the market a machine, which, while it was not entirely his own invention, had been developed under his direction, and to which he had given his name. This was a superior kind of machine in which the old manufacturers having a monopoly of the trade, at once recognized a dangerous competitor. Not having the means to manufacture these machines on his own account, Mr. Eldredge was contracting the manufacture to eastern parties. Being continually disappointed and hampered in his operations by reason of not being able to personally super-

vise the construction of his machine, he went to Mr. June and entered into an arrangement to have his machines made by the latter, on contract, in Chicago. This arrangement continued in effect for a time, and then Mr. Eldridge proposed a consolidation of interests, which was accomplished and went into effect in the early part of 1886. They were hardly fairly started under the new regime, when the labor troubles of that year—which culminated in the anarchistic riots—involved them in a controversy with employees and closed their factory.

This forced upon them the consideration of a new problem, and for a time they were at sea as to what course they should pursue. It was at this juncture that a suggestion came to them that they should remove their plant to Belvidere, where it was urged they would be freed from the influences leading up to strikes, a perpetual menace to the industrial interests of Chicago. In pursuance of this suggestion negotiations were begun in July with enterprising citizens of Belvidere, who offered to the enterprise substantial aid and encouragement, and in a short time arrangements for the removal were completed. The June Manufacturing Company, with a capital of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was incorporated under the laws of Illinois, with one hundred and thirty-one thousand paid in, and with Mr. June as president and Mr. Eldredge as

vice-president and general manager. The erection of a factory was begun at once, and in the latter part of the following November the first manufacturing enterprise of any magnitude started in Belvidere, went into operation.

With these operations the solution of an important problem began. The problem to be solved was, whether a new sewing machine factory, located in territory where the experiment had not before been tried, and with limited resources, could survive the assaults of the old manufacturing companies, having a practical monopoly of the trade, with unlimited capital at their command, and united in their determination to keep new competitors out of the field. The public is so thoroughly familiar with the methods of this old sewing machine combination, that it is hardly necessary to say that the chances were largely against the new aspirant for popular favor and public patronage. For a time the results seemed to be more than doubtful, and the good citizens of Belvidere, deeply interested as they were in the success of the enterprise, could not help feeling at times that its failure was almost certain.

The one man among those interested in this undertaking, who appears never to have yielded even temporarily to discouragement was Mr. Eldredge. Although not the official head of the corporation, he was the man most familiar with all the details of the

sewing machine business, best acquainted with the demands of the public and most fully informed as to the avenues available for conveying their manufactures into the market. Under his direction a machine was manufactured which compelled recognition on its merits and advertised its manufacturers. It went into the market to make friends and to bring new patrons to the factory, with a corresponding increase of business. At first the increase was slow but it was a steady and continuous increase, and nothing once gained was sacrificed through inattention to anything which their patrons seemed to demand.

In 1890 Mr. June died and Mr. Eldredge succeeded to the presidency, redoubling at once his efforts to expand the business and enlarge a trade which had at this time begun to assume important proportions. The result has been the building up of a phenomenally successful manufacturing plant. Its buildings cover now nearly two acres of ground, and other buildings projected and under way, will increase the area of buildings to four acres. The improved plant will have a capacity for the manufacture of between three and four hundred machines daily. Up to the present time the output of the factory amounts, in round numbers, to four hundred thousand machines of various kinds, and the best evidence of the general prosperity of the enterprise is found in the fact that

the stock of the company now commands a premium of more than one hundred per cent.

Without detracting anything from the credit due to others identified with the building up of this great enterprise, it must be said that it has developed into one of the recognized great manufactories of the country, under the management and supervision of Mr. Eldredge, who has thus become a conspicuous figure among western manufacturers. He is a native of Ohio, born in Geauga County, June 19, 1843. His father was Franklin Eldredge, a native of Sharon Springs, New York State, a community with which several generations of the family have been prominently identified. He married Eliza M. Van Dyke, a descendant of Hendrick Van Dyke, who immigrated to this country from Holland in 1636—a distinguished character among the early colonists of New York, and the progenitor of an illustrious Knickerbocker family.

Franklin Eldredge settled on a farm in the Western Reserve of Ohio, and B. Eldredge was born and brought up on this farm. He received his early education in the country schools, and worked on the farm until 1861, when he went to Cleveland to pursue an advanced course of study. Leaving the Cleveland High School shortly before graduation, he became connected with the ship-yards of Stephens and Presley as bookkeeper, pursuing at the

same time a course of study in a commercial college from which he graduated.

In 1865 he married Miss Marie A. Presley, daughter of the junior member of the firm by which he had been employed, and shortly afterward engaged in the hardware business in Cleveland as a member of the firm of Van Tassel & Eldredge. It was while engaged in this business that his attention was first attracted to the sewing machine trade. He had a brother in Detroit, Michigan, who was engaged on an extensive scale in the sale of sewing machines, and in 1866 he became interested with the latter in this business. In 1869 he sold out his hardware business in Cleveland and moved to Detroit to become an active partner in the conduct and management of the sewing machine business. Their trade here extended over a large territory and they had remarkable success in establishing the business of the Domestic Sewing Machine Company, then being introduced into the market. Remaining at Detroit until 1874, Mr. Eldredge then came to Chicago as the general manager of the Domestic Company, having under his control all the territory lying between the western line of Ohio and the Rocky Mountains, and all the southern states. This position he retained until he turned his attention to the manufacture and sale of his own machine.

Something has already been said of the fierce opposition which he en-

countered in his attempt to introduce this machine into the market. The most vicious onslaughts were made on him however, at the very outset of his career as a manufacturer. Infringement suits were brought against him whenever a pretext could be obtained for doing so, and to defend against these suits involved great expense, and led to the serious embarrassment of his business.

In the construction of his machine, he had made use of certain appliances of which rival concerns at once claimed the ownership and control. To establish the fact that their claims were invalid, Mr. Eldredge had to hunt the country over for evidences of the fact that their appliances had been in use before they were patented by the claimants. All over the United States he had agents examining old sewing machines and reporting to him the results of their investigations. In one instance he heard of a machine which he desired to produce in court, being in the possession of parties who lived in Hamilton, Canada. The information proved to be incorrect, but from clues obtained in Hamilton he traced the machine to Rochester, New York, where he finally gained possession of it, much to his advantage, and winning the case in the impending litigation. In another in-

stance while defending a suit brought against him by the Singer Manufacturing Company, he heard of an old machine of which he wished to obtain possession, at Redwood, California. A telegram was sent to San Francisco, and a special agent went out from there to purchase the machine. The agent acted promptly and got hold of it just in time to prevent it passing into the hands of the Singer Company, and with this machine defeated the latter in the case on trial.

In this spirited and long continued contest Mr. Eldredge showed wonderful persistency, tenacity of purpose and indomitable courage, as well as a vast amount of tact in the conduct of his affairs. These were the qualities most essential to his success at that time, but when he had weathered these storms, and was left free to give his attention to the development of the industry with which he was so conspicuously identified, it at once became apparent that he had executive ability of a high order and was eminently fitted for carrying forward the work on hand. The subsequent success of the enterprise testifies more strongly than can anything else to the skill and ability with which he has conducted its affairs.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

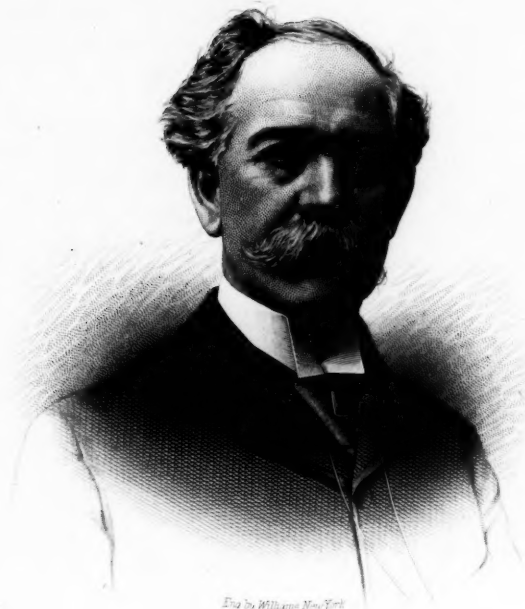
GEN. JOHN G. McCULLOUGH.

GENERAL JOHN GRIFFITH McCULLOUGH presents to our view in his life, a varied career—a lawyer, a statesman, an important factor for the Union cause in California during the troubles of '60-'65, and a master of finance and skillful manipulator of great enterprises, as especially exemplified in his management of great railroad interests. He is a type of that class, in the possession of which among her citizens America is pre-eminent, whose chief characteristic is a great versatility of talent and energy, enabling them to conduct affairs of the largest proportions, with signal success.

He is of mingled Scotch and Welsh ancestry, and was born in Welsh Tract, near Newark, in the State of Delaware. The circumstances surrounding his youth did not present a rosy prospect for the future. His father died when he was three years of age; his mother when he was seven. Considerate friends and relatives rendered such assistance as they could, but it was his own pluck, persistence and unwearied industry which won for him the many successes of his life. His early educational advantages were meager, but

he made the most of them, and succeeded in placing at his command the resources of a good education, graduating from Delaware College with the first honors of his class before he had reached his twentieth year. He went to Philadelphia and began the study of law in the office of St. George Tucker Campbell, at that time one of the most successful jury lawyers at the Philadelphia bar. The next three years young McCullough divided between study and practical experience in this famous pleader's office, and attendance at the law school of the University of Virginia, from which institution he received the degree of L. L. B. In 1859 he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

The brilliant prospect before the young lawyer was suddenly clouded at this point by the collapse of his health. The preservation of his life required a speedy change of climate and surroundings. After winning in Philadelphia, by his own unaided efforts, the first case entrusted to him, he set sail for California. The prospect appeared dubious; his enforced change of situation the most unfortunate thing imaginable. But as we



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J. S. McCullough

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look back upon it in the light of the sequel, we see the hand of Providence, at that time inscrutable, but which removed him by the agency of ill-health to the new theatre where he was to play a striking part in an approaching crisis of our national history. The severity of the coast winds at San Francisco led him to go on to Sacramento. Here he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of California, but even at Sacramento the climate was too rugged for his delicate condition, and he soon moved again to Mariposa County where he could breathe the dry and exhilarating air at the foot hills of the picturesque Sierra Nevadas.

The time was 1860. California was passing through her trying pioneer period, and her precarious situation was about to be complicated by the bursting of the war-cloud which had long hung, lowering and threatening above the horizon. The young, inexperienced and delicate lawyer had arrived on this rough scene just in time to perform his part in the drama. He opened a law office and rapidly acquired a good practice. But before he could establish any close and extended acquaintance with the people, he was destined to be swept into the thickest of the fight for the preservation of the autonomy of the Union. In Southern California Secessionists from Alabama lived in close proximity to Unionists from Vermont. A terrible internecine war appeared inevitable. In this emer-

gency General Sumner arrived on the scene. By a brilliant *coup d'état* he superseded Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston in the command of Fort Alcatraz, and frustrated the scheme of the Southern sympathizers to separate California from the Union.

In young McCullough whose loyalty to the Federal Government was intense, his enthusiasm and energy unbounded, General Sumner found a ready and efficient supporter and coadjutor. If the young man's delicate health discouraged all thought of usefulness in the camp and on the field, it did not prevent him from ascending the stump, and by his eloquence and courage do yeoman service for the twin causes of freedom and national unity and integrity. He immediately commanded the admiration and confidence of the Union element and was accorded recognition as a leader of the people. He was nominated for the General Assembly in 1861, and a coalition of Republicans and Douglas Democrats triumphantly elected him. In the Legislature of California he was known as a champion of every wise measure which looked to the advancement and help of the cause of the Union. The confidence of his constituents was increased, and in 1862 they returned him to the State Senate, from a large district composed of many counties, and up to that time overwhelmingly Democratic. The following months in the Senate were characterized by such wisdom and

vigor in shaping legislation, and displayed so much legal acumen, that notwithstanding his youth and very brief experience as a practical lawyer, he was nominated the next year by the State Convention of the Republican party as Attorney General of California. He was elected at the polls by an overwhelming majority. His four years of service in this position (during which time he resided at Sacramento) were crowded with most important litigation, growing out of the emergency of the war and the confusion at its close. General McCullough labored with signal skill and success, in the interests and for the honor of the State. He was re-nominated by his party in 1867. But a change of sentiment throughout California had put the State overwhelmingly in the Democratic list. Gen. McCullough received the largest vote of any one on the Republican ticket, but failed of an election.

Upon the close of his official career he became the head of a well known law firm in San Francisco, and during his five years of residence in that city, he was universally recognized as one of the most prominent members of a bar which included men of the keenest and most cultured intellect from nearly every State in the Union. His practice was highly remunerative, and he enjoyed the enviable reputation, with court, counsel and client, of a practitioner scrupulously accurate in statement, and in every action or position governed by the

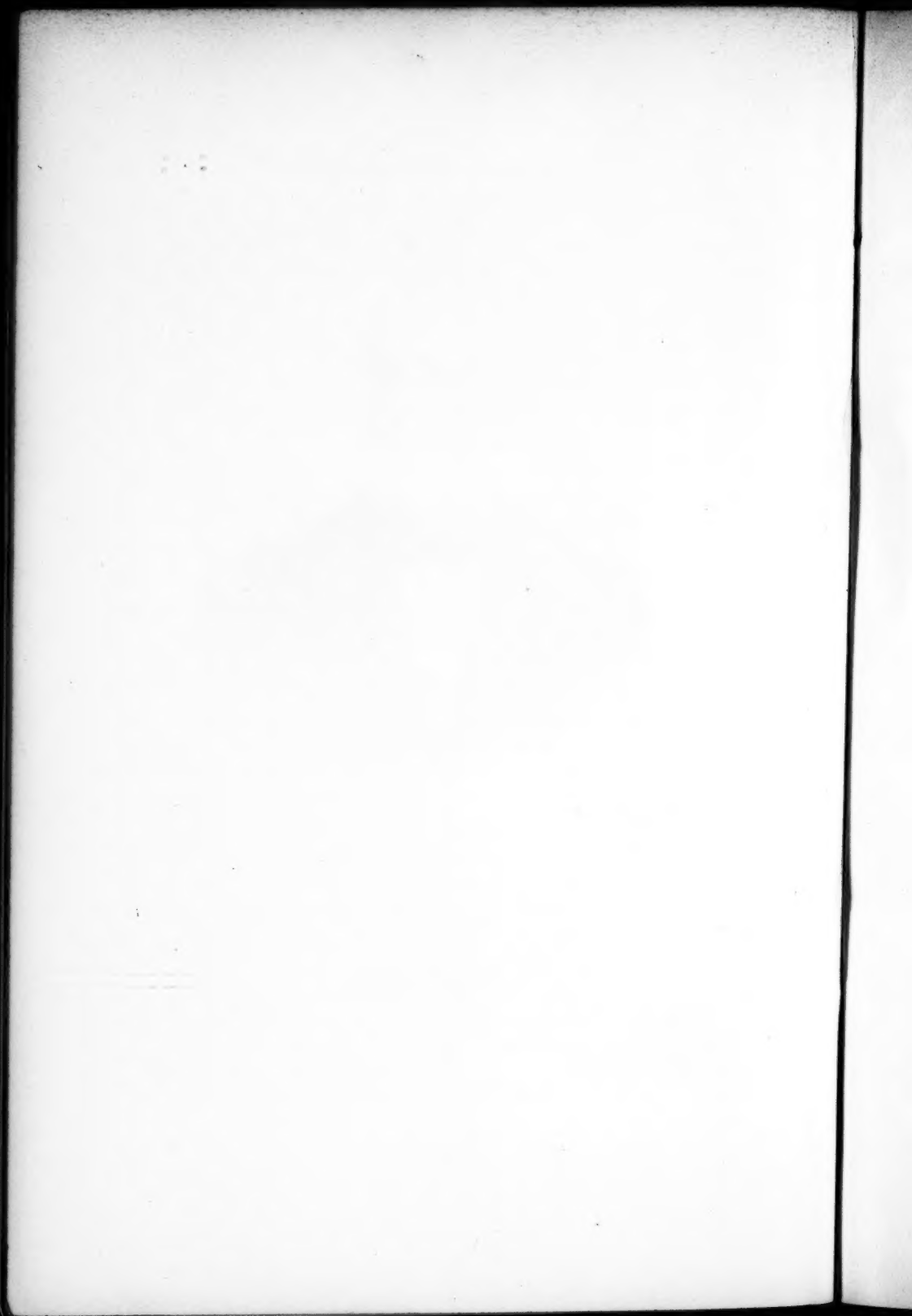
nicest sense of professional honor. Visiting the eastern States in 1871, he married Miss Eliza Hall Park, the gifted and accomplished daughter of Trenor W. Park, and granddaughter of ex-Governor Hiland Hall of Vermont. Gen. McCullough visited Europe with his wife and returned to California. Two years later, through the desire of his wife, and having acquired an ample fortune, he removed to Southern Vermont.

His talents and energy now found employment in a new channel. He did not return to the general practice of law, but interested himself in railroad, commercial and banking enterprises. In these directions he has evinced unusual genius and achieved success and distinction. Active operations in these directions have made him in a great measure a citizen of New York. For many years a considerable portion of his time has been passed in the metropolis. From 1873 to 1883 he was Vice-President and General Manager of the Panama Railroad Company, and from 1883 until his resignation in 1888, he continued as President and directing genius of that corporation at the solicitation of M. De Lesseps and the French stockholders. He was elected a director of the Erie Railroad in 1884, and since 1888 has held the responsible position of Chairman of the Executive Committee. He became the first President of the Chicago and Erie Railroad in 1890, a position



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John J. Root



which he still holds, and is President of the Bennington and Rutland Railway Company. He is also President of the first National Bank of North Bennington, Vt., and a Director of the New York Security and Trust Company, and of the Fidelity and Casualty Insurance Company of New York. He is largely interested in many other corporations.

American politics, as an applied science, have never failed to enlist the warmest sympathies of Gen. McCullough, and whether on the Pacific or the Atlantic slope, he has never ceased to exhibit the liveliest interest in the

public questions of the day. No political campaign has occurred since 1860 in which his voice has not been heard in earnest and efficient advocacy of the men and principles that challenged his support. His service has been gratuitous—freely offered without expectation of reward, as he entertains no ambition in the direction of public office. As a man, he is of genial nature and social tastes. These qualities have won him a host of warm and devoted friends. His home life is singularly happy. His family is the center of his greatest joys and pleasures.

AN IMPORTANT ERA IN POSTAL ADMINISTRATION.

HON. JOHN J. FOOTE.

ALL persons at all familiar with the history of postal affairs in the United States, unite in regarding the administration of Hon. Thomas L. James, as Postmaster of New York City, as marking a new era in postal administration. It was under this reform administration that a degree of efficiency was attained in the conduct of postal affairs, to which there had been no approach prior to that time, in the history of this department of the government service. It was under this administration that improvements were inaugurated and postal facilities increased in such a way as to make the New York office, by com-

mon consent, the model post-office of the country, and the most potent agency in bringing about the establishment of a vastly improved postal service throughout the United States.

It detracts nothing from the brilliant achievements, or from the well earned fame of Mr. James, to make record of the fact that the successful conduct of public affairs which made him so conspicuous a figure in New York, and which at a later date, made him Postmaster General of the United States, was largely the result of his care in selecting those who were to be his chief assistants in the management of the New York Post-office, and

western men therefore feel a pardonable pride in having had one of their number called to the most important and responsible position under his administration.

In the little city of Belvidere, Illinois, lives a gentleman who, at the urgent solicitation of his old friend and business and political associate, Mr. James, and at the request of other prominent public men of New York State, put aside private affairs of more than ordinary magnitude and importance, to assume official duties and responsibilities which were thrust upon him because of his recognized fitness for the place to be filled. The man thus called to enter the government service in the eastern metropolis, was Hon. John J. Foote, who has been a citizen of Boone County, Illinois, since 1865, except during his official life in New York. Mr. Foote is, however, a native of the Empire State; it was there that he first entered public life, and his early political associates were the old-time whig and republican politicians of that State. His ancestors were noted pioneers of Central New York, to which State they emigrated from New England.

In the records of the colony of Massachusetts Bay for the year 1633, appears the name of Nathaniel Foote, who had immigrated to America some time prior thereto, from Colchester, England, with his wife Elizabeth (Deming) Foote. Nathaniel Foote was of an honorable family, which had long worn a coat-of-arms granted

by King James I, to one of his ancestors—an English army officer, who succored the king from great danger at one time, by concealing him in the trunk of an oak tree, in consequence of which the oak became a conspicuous feature of the coat-of-arms. In 1636, Nathaniel Foote removed from Watertown, Massachusetts, to the newer colony of Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he died in 1644. This ancestor of the Foote family in America had two sons, Robert and Nathaniel, of whom the last mentioned lived and died at Wethersfield. His son Nathaniel was the first magistrate of Colchester, Connecticut, and was succeeded in the magistracy by his son Nathaniel IV, and his grandson Daniel Foote, the last named being the father of Judge Isaac Foote, the pioneer representative of the family in New York State. Isaac Foote removed first from Colchester to the "Square Pond Settlement" within the limits of East Windsor, and from there to Stratford, Connecticut, where he served as Justice of the Peace and repeatedly represented his town in the State Legislature. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, as was also his younger brother, Ebenezer Foote, who served later as a member of the New York House of Representatives and Senate and as District Attorney and County Judge.

Isaac Foote purchased a large body of land in what is now Chenango County, New York, in what was then

a dense forest in 1795, and sent his son Isaac, Jr., to build a cabin and make other improvements on this land. In 1796 he removed with his family to his new possessions in the town of Sherburne—now Smyrna—and in 1798 was elected a member of the New York Legislature and procured the organization of Chenango County. He afterwards served four years in the State Senate, and was first Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Chenango County. A splendid type of the sturdy New Englander, his was the first name which appeared on the rolls of the "Second Calvinistic Congregational Society" in Sherburne, and in all things he was a leader among the builders of the community, one loved and revered by all who knew him.

An interesting incident of his later life has become historic in Sherburne. In 1840, in the 95th year of his age, he went to the polls to cast his vote at the presidential election of that year. Being blind, he was led up to the table at which the judges of Election were seated, where he laid aside his hat, after the old courtly fashion and said: "Gentlemen, I cast my vote for the first president of the United States, George Washington. I have now come to cast my last ballot for William Henry Harrison." An impertinent young politician of the opposite party, challenged his vote on the ground that being blind he could not read his ballot, but the challenge aroused such a storm of

indignation from the voters present, without regard to their party affiliations, that it was quickly withdrawn. Isaac Foote, Jr., son of Judge Foote, held many important local offices in Sherburne and was a successful man of affairs. His son, John Foote, was brought up on a farm, graduated at Clinton Academy, was educated for the law, and became eminent as a counselor, an anti-slavery man and temperance advocate. He married Mary B. Johnson of Columbia County, New York, daughter of a noted physician of that county, and of this union was born Hon. John J. Foote, now of Belvidere, Illinois.

The short history of his antecedents which has been given in the foregoing shows that he began life with the heritage of a good name. He was born in Hamilton, New York, February 11, 1816, and grew to manhood there. His educational training was thorough, and although he did not pursue a full classical course he received his degree in later years, from Madison—now Colgate University. After completing his education he engaged in the drug business in Hamilton, where he married Miss Mary Crocker, daughter of Hon. Amos Crocker of the same place, and soon became recognized as one of the prominent citizens of the place. In his young manhood he took an active interest in politics as a member of the whig party, and by reasons of his personal popularity and political sagacity was elected to various local

offices when his party was largely in the minority in Hamilton. In those days he frequently met in convention men who afterwards became famous as leaders of the Republican party in the United States, among them Roscoe Conkling, who occasionally headed a delegation from Oneida County, when Foote headed a delegation from Madison County. He took an active part in the Presidential Campaign of 1840, and in the campaign of 1844, was a devoted follower of Henry Clay. In the latter campaign, it was through his influence that Charles Burchard—brother of Rev. S. D. Burchard, the despoiler of Blaine's presidential prospects in 1884—a prominent abolitionist of Hamilton, wrote and published a letter which secured for Clay a considerable proportion of the abolition vote of New York State.

In 1857 he was elected a member of the first Republican Legislature of New York, and served as a member of the Senate, representing the counties of Madison, Chenango and Courtland, with such distinguished colleagues as William A. Wheeler, General Francis B. Spinola and others scarcely less noted. As a member of this legislature he became conspicuous as the introducer and most active champion of the "Personal Liberty Bill," one of the most famous of the measures proposed in New York State prior to the war, designed to secure to the negroes additional rights and privileges. He served as chairman of the Committee on

Militia, and stood next to Wm. A. Wheeler as a member of the Committee on Banks, becoming chairman of the latter committee when Wheeler became President pro tem of the Senate. In consequence of the financial panic of 1857, this committee had many important measures to consider, and its reports had much to do with shaping financial legislation. He also acquired some distinction as promulgator of the idea set forth in a minority report on a bill regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors—that "for all legitimate purposes the sale of liquors should be unrestricted while their sale as a beverage should be prohibited."

His acquaintance with Postmaster-General James began at Hamilton, where he was interested in the establishment of a Republican newspaper—the Democratic Republican—of which James became the editor. He was one of the most active of the men who sought to promote the fortunes of the Republican party in New York State, immediately after its organization, being intimately associated at that time with such famous party leaders as Wm. H. Seward, Governor Morgan, Thurlow Weed, James W. Nye and others, and in 1860 being chosen a presidential elector on the Lincoln ticket, representing the counties of Madison and Oswego. When the war broke out he was prominent among those who did all in their power to aid in the suppression of the rebellion. When Fort Sumter

was fired on he was in New York City, where he was called into a conference with Thurlow Weed, Governor Morgan, General Wool and others, held at the Astor House, to consider the situation and devise means for putting New York on a war footing. The New York Legislature was still in session but had adopted a joint resolution providing for adjournment. The conference was held on Saturday night and the legislature was to adjourn on the following Monday. It was imperative that the proposed adjournment should be postponed, and Mr. Foote was delegated to go to Albany to impress upon the legislators the necessity for rescinding the adjournment resolution and remaining in session long enough to pass a bill making provision for the enlistment and equipment of troops.

When he reached the Capital he began his labors among Republican members of the Legislature, many of whom hesitated about assuming the war-like attitude proposed. In this emergency he received powerful aid from an unexpected source. While addressing a group of Republicans in the Delavan House, and seeking to pledge them to carry out the policy which had been outlined by the party leaders at the New York conference, one of those who listened to his arguments was Francis B. Spinola, with whom he had often crossed swords in the field of politics. Finally Spinola blurted out; "Foote, your Republicans are a pack of cowards.

I'm a Democrat, but I propose to vote for a reconsideration of the adjournment resolution, and for a three million dollar war appropriation, as you propose. And more than that, I will raise a regiment to go down south and help lick the rebels." The effect of this speech can be imagined, and how well General Spinola kept his promise is a matter of history. During the entire four years of the war, Mr. Foote continued his labors in behalf of the Union cause, performing many important and valuable services.

In 1865, his health having become seriously impaired, he sold out his business in Hamilton and removed with his family to Illinois, where he settled on a large farm near Belvidere. Here he gave his attention mainly to agricultural pursuits, whereby he partially regained his health, and was enjoying comparative rest and quiet, attending only to his private affairs, when he was summoned to New York by Mr. James in 1873, immediately after the latter was made postmaster of that city by President Grant.

The financial affairs of the New York Post-office were at that time in a deplorably bad condition, and the most important duty of the new postmaster was to call to his assistance some one who could thoroughly reorganize and systematize the affairs of this department of the office. He realized that he was entering upon a work which made it imperative that his chief lieutenant should be

a man of courage, of convictions, of integrity and ability. Knowing John J. Foote to be such a man he did not hesitate to go outside of the State of New York to solicit his services. Thurlow Weed, Governor Morgan, General Arthur, Samuel P. Russel and other personal and political friends commended his action and brought their influence to bear upon Mr. Foote to induce him to accept the newly created position of Auditor of the post-office. In tendering the appointment Mr. James wrote: "It is but just to me to say that I do not take personal friendship into account when I tender you this office. It is on account of my knowledge of your integrity, your high character and your great ability as a financial and business man."

Feeling that he could not in justice to old time friends and associates, decline to render them such services as he could, Mr. Foote accepted the position, with the understanding that as soon as he had systematized the financial affairs of the post-office he should be allowed to retire. In the spring of 1873 he went to New York and at once entered upon the task to which he had been assigned, as Auditor, and—in the absence of the postmaster—as acting postmaster. The task proved a herculean one and instead of its requiring a few months to get all the machinery of the office into satisfactory operation, Mr. Foote gave to it the next three years. During these three years all the accounts

of the post-office, and those growing out of the erection of the new post-office building—then in process of erection with the postmaster as "custodian"—passed through his hands and were paid only after his inspection and approval. Prior to this the different departments of the post-office had been running independently of each other, and when the auditing department was organized with Mr. Foote at the head, he found it exceedingly difficult to bring these different departments under one control and supervision. He entered upon the work, however, determined to do it with the thoroughness with which he had been in the habit of doing everything else he had undertaken.

Some of the changes which he made, without unnecessary delay, were radical in their character, but in all his changes and decisions, and in the adoption of new rules, he was sustained by the postmaster, and the much needed reformation of the financial affairs of the post-office was pushed forward regardless of the complaints of spoils-hunters and truckling politicians.

As Auditor Mr. Foote had oversight of expenditures of every kind, the rents of stations, alterations and repairs of buildings, salaries, supplies of every kind etc., and also of the sources of receipts. All departments were accountable to his department for money transactions and all contracts entered into were subject to

his examination and approval. As rapidly as he could do so he brought the different departments of the office into such relations to his own that the financial leakages of previous administrations were stopped, and to defraud the government of its revenues became almost if not entirely an impossibility.

In the beginning the rules and regulations which he adopted resulted in more or less friction and now and then there were appeals from his decisions to the department at Washington. But in every case he made it a point to so thoroughly familiarize himself with the postal laws and with all the points bearing on the matter under consideration, that he was invariably sustained. There was no favoritism shown in his administration of affairs, and no one was allowed to evade the postal laws with his knowledge and consent. To secure to the government proper returns from unpaid postage he organized an "unpaid postage department" which was so conducted, that for the first time in the history of the post-office, the collection of unpaid postage by superintendents, delivery clerks and letter carriers found their way into the treasury as regularly as any other receipts of the office.

In this connection an incident will illustrate how steadfastly he adhered to the rules governing the postal department, and how courageously he defended his position. A book was

sent by one high in authority to a certain college president, which contained much writing, subjecting it to letter postage amounting to about five dollars. The college president refused to pay the postage and reported the matter to the department at Washington. The Postmaster General, while in New York, called Mr. Foote before him, inquired into the matter, admitted that the Auditor was right in the position he had taken, but suggested that in view of the prominence of the parties it might be better to remit the postage. Mr. Foote asked the Postmaster General if his rule did not sustain the charge, and being answered in the affirmative, he said: "Very well, I have sworn to enforce these rules and I shall do so. It is in your power to change the rules but it is not in your power to otherwise change my obligations." It is perhaps needless to say that the rule was enforced.

It is impossible to call attention to the many reforms inaugurated under this administration, to the improved system of keeping accounts, and to new methods of making the quarterly reports which were sent to Washington with a promptness which made the authorities wonder how it was done. It is only necessary to say that at the end of three years of hard labor, having performed work which won renown for his chief, himself and the New York Post-office, Mr. Foote tendered his resignation, which was made necessary by the

pressure of private business and failing health. It was accepted by Mr. James with expressions of sincere regret and the hope that he would return to official duties when his business and health would permit. Those who had been associated with him in the different departments of the post-office presented to him a strong testimonial of their appreciation of his services and he retired from the office bearing with him their high esteem and kindly regards.

Returning to his Illinois home, he turned his attention again to his private affairs, becoming interested in various manufacturing, banking and other enterprises, and sustaining

his reputation as a skillful and able financier. Avoiding as much as possible the turmoil of political and public life, he has since only consented to accept certain local offices where he was practically the unanimous choice of his fellow citizens by reason of his eminent fitness for the positions to be filled.

Mr. Foote lives now in pleasant retirement at Belvidere, his wife and one daughter, Miss Harriett Foote, being the other members of his family circle. John C. Foote, his only son, is a merchant of Belvidere, and a second daughter is the wife of Hon. Enos Clark of St. Louis.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

A NEW DEPARTURE IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

ONE of the most interesting and important chapters in the history of political parties in America was begun a little less than five years ago, in the fall of 1887, by the formation of "The Republican League of the United States." The convention which created this league marks a new era in political methods to achieve political purposes. Henceforth, party contests must be fought and elections decided, along the lines of the plan of permanent and effective organization here first put in operation. In this view, the consideration of the initial movement be-

comes interesting and instructive, not merely as an incident in the history of one political party, but as a precedent set—a system and method introduced—which every existing or future political party must, per force, accept and adopt, if it would hope to secure victory and the triumph of its principles in popular elections.

In a pamphlet published by the League in 1888, a few months after its organization, the following brief account of the movement is given:

"For a number of years the one great need of the Republican party has been thorough and united party

organization, and while there has been in some localities systematic and efficient work, there has been no general movement for the purpose of *permanently* organizing the Republican party and enlisting the new forces that have grown up since the war.

"Recognizing that there have been efficient Republican organizations in some localities, and remembering that these organizations have demonstrated the value of systematic work, the Republican Club of the City of New York appointed a Committee on Associate Organizations in April, 1887, for the purpose of enlisting the clubs already in existence into one compact body, and for the further purpose of bringing about permanent Republican club organizations in localities where none existed. To this end the above mentioned Committee devoted months of arduous labor, sending out circulars to every part of the United States. By means of this extensive canvass, and in addition to a few well-known clubs, some three hundred other Republican clubs were discovered, and many new ones were formed through the efforts of the Committee, prior to December, 1887. Great was the interest and enthusiasm awakened by the first suggestion of a National organization of Republican clubs, and in response to an official call for a National Convention of such clubs, delegates were appointed from clubs representing some twenty-three States and territories; and these delegates, about fifteen hundred in

number, assembled in Chickering Hall, New York City, on the 15, 16 and 17th of December, 1887. The Convention elected the Hon. Daniel J. Ryan of Ohio, as Temporary Chairman, and the Hon. William M. Evarts, of New York, as Permanent Chairman, with vice-presidents and secretaries from the various States."

But no adequate idea is conveyed in this brief epitome, of the vast labor required to propagate the conception of a great union of permanent Republican clubs, and eventually assemble the Chickering Hall Convention. It should be emphasized that the League scheme was distinctly the invention, and the result of the hard work of the Republican Club of the City of New York. Mr. James P. Foster was president of the Republican Club in 1887. On the occasion of the Club dinner on February 12th of that year, in celebration of Lincoln's birthday, Mr. Foster in his opening address, uttered the following prophesy: "Turning now from the past and present to the future, this club shall soon become the central rallying point for Republicans from all parts of the State and the nation." In less than a year's time these words were wonderfully verified. At a meeting of the club on April 12, just two months after the February speech, Mr. Foster appointed the Committee on Associate Organizations referred to above. It consisted, at the time of Mr. Joseph Pool, chairman; Mr. Henry Gleason, secretary; and Mr.

James A. Blanchard, Mr. Foster being a member *ex officio*, and during the succeeding months, two additional members, Joseph Ullman and Edward T. Bartlett were appointed.

The significance of this movement was soon proclaimed to the public in a speech by Mr. Foster at Pittsburgh, Pa., in the same month of April, in response to the toast, "Republican Clubs." After reciting that in the Civil War "drill and discipline were worth more to our men than fortifications." Mr. Foster spoke, in part, as follows:

"The club should be the drill-room from which its members may go forth into the active army of the party at large, armed and equipped with those invincible truths of the party which shall carry conviction and conquest with them. A Republican Club should stand intermediate between the voter on the one hand, and the regular party organization on the other. It should not attempt to overrule the free will of the one nor to usurp the power of the other, but the club can act as a unit and as a power to create public opinion, to formulate the great principles of the party. It can prepare and proclaim those eternal truths, as the foundations upon which the party must rest. Then enlarge the view, and call a conference or convention of these well organized bodies prior to a National Convention, and let the proposed platform be discussed. There are to-day not less than twenty, and

perhaps double that number, of Republican clubs of value and standing, and their constituents run up into the many thousands of voters. Assemble these and array the party issues, and the land would resound with the true principles of the party, enunciated in such clear and decided tones that the convention would take up the refrain and proclaim them as its own; such I believe to be the power of the united effort, of drilled and matured thought, of a concert of action by the various clubs in these cities."

These sentiments were published and widely circulated and caused much comment at the time. They were accepted by the Committee on Associate Organizations as the keynote of their operations. In the first report of progress made by this Committee to the Republican Club of the city of New York, May 25, 1887, this fact is stated as follows:

"The undersigned, constituting the 'Committee on Associate Organizations,' beg leave to report. Following the views of the President of this Club, outlined by him in his recent address before the Republican Club in the City of Pittsburgh, your Committee beg leave to state . . . The growth of Republican clubs throughout the country in the past year or so, has demonstrated that permanent club organizations are beneficial to the usefulness and growth of the Republican party, and only indicate that a new system of dealing with

party measures and new methods of conducting campaigns are to be wrought out through the agency of these permanent organizations. . . . Considering this important and advanced position rapidly being acquired by permanent Republican clubs, your committee has under consideration the question of convening all the Republican clubs of this and adjacent States, and the holding of a convention some time in November or December of this year."

From this time forth to the final convention in December following, the full energies of the Committee were directed to the gigantic task of effecting the permanent organization of Republican clubs throughout the country. Numerous circular letters were issued, correspondence was had with every section, and members of the Committee, re-enforced by others of equal enthusiasm in the Club, travelled extensively, delivering addresses and organizing clubs. The idea of *permanent* organization was the inspiration of this canvass. In the May report of the Committee just referred to, the proposal of a National Convention of clubs was based upon the belief that it "would inspire the formation of permanent Republican clubs."

As the canvass progressed and the convention of clubs became a certainty, the Committee's correspondence grew to such magnitude as to be quite too onerous for the shoulders of its few members with business

cares and responsibilities of their own. Accordingly, in the fall of 1887, they were re-enforced from the ranks of the New York Club by twenty-three assistant secretaries, appointed as auxilliary committees, and distributed into sub-committees, a man for each specified State or group of States, as follows: California, Nevada and Oregon, Philip R. Van Wyck; Colorado, Dr. E. A. Judson; Dakota, Charles H. Dennison; Delaware, Henry Melville; Illinois, C. H. Applegate; Indiana, George D. McCarthy; Louisiana, John A. Grow; Maine, Frederick C. Royce; Maryland, William L. Findley; Massachusetts, Joseph Ullman; Minnesota, Morris M. Budlong; Mississippi, Noah C. Rogers; Missouri, John F. Baker; Nebraska, Mahlon Chance; New Hampshire, Harwood R. Pool; New York, James W. Hawes; North Carolina, H. W. Hayden; Pennsylvania, John S. Smith; Rhode Island, Walter B. Tufts; Vermont, Henry M. Wynkoop; Virginia and West Virginia, James S. Lehmaier; Wisconsin, James A. Blanchard. Later were added to the number, for the State of Georgia, Henry C. Sommers; Kansas, Lucius C. Ashley; Tennessee, Humphrey H. Leavitt; South Carolina, Charles Schwacoffer. Each member of this Auxilliary Committee was supplied with circulars for his especial field, containing both the names of the general Committee and his own name as sub-committee for the district with which he opened communication.

The formal, or official call for a convention of clubs, signed by the presidents of one hundred and eight organizations, four of which were State Leagues, appeared November 15th. This had been done through the suggestion of the Committee, who sent out blanks for the purpose to the respective presidents. Every Republican club in the country was authorized to send five delegates to the convention, and the enthusiasm manifested in every direction insured a large assembly. The exact number of accredited delegates who actually arrived was 1,180, while hundreds of others attended unofficially. During the three days' session of the convention, December 15, 16 and 17th, 1887, Chickering Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. Everything that an active, influential and free-handed body like the Republican Club of New York could secure in the way of cheap transportation, good halls, complete appointments and excellent accommodations had been provided, the expense being met by individual subscriptions within the club.

A chief feature of the convention was the unbounded enthusiasm which prevailed throughout the three days of its duration. The assembly was called to order by Mr. Joseph Pool, chairman of the committee. Rev. R. S. Mac Arthur offered prayer. The official call was read by Mr. Henry Gleason, secretary of the committee. Mr. James

P. Foster, President of the New York Republican Club, then delivered the address of welcome. This speech is interesting both for the bit of history it details, and also as illustrating the grasp of the idea of the power of organization in the minds of the projectors of the enterprise.

"This movement," said Mr. Foster, "now a most glorious success, was begun with caution, without any list of organized clubs and the names and location of not more than twenty or thirty. Last June a committee of this Club, by authority, ventured to ask the press and leading Republicans to give publicity to this movement. It was readily taken up, and to-day over 400 clubs are on the list thus obtained, and it is not too much to predict that within six months over 4,000 clubs will be in existence, all of which shall embrace more or less of the first voters and the men hitherto indifferent to their political duties. . . . We propose to organize, to go out and beyond the individual, in order that we may work for some end and some principle higher and broader than the single man, for he who selfishly is working for himself is a danger to be avoided. Hence we have by common consent agreed to have only one rule for this convention, and we have decided that this convention shall not name, recommend or nominate any candidate for office—but we shall organize.

"It was through organization that Washington, ardent and unselfish,

and assailed by difficulties and defeat, never faltered in his purpose, and from the sufferings of Valley Forge marched triumphant to Yorktown. It was organization that gave Abraham Lincoln success in his endeavor to establish the final supremacy of a broad and grand principle of right. It was organization, coupled with courage and fidelity to a just cause, that at last made it possible to place the chaplet of fame and honor on the brow of the immortal Grant. . . . This then is the mission of this convention. Do we look for proof of the power of club organization, the answer will come from many localities. Do we ask for States, let Ohio reply. Before that State League was formed doubt came with the close of the polls. Since the days of that League, Ohio has always stood firm in the Republican ranks. From Michigan would come the response that the State was rescued by organization at a time when Democracy was fast gaining control, and a Republican majority, by organization, was made certain and sure."

As has been said, Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, of Ohio, was elected Temporary Chairman of the convention, and Senator Evarts made Permanent Chairman. The usual committees of such a body were appointed; a set of resolutions adopted, setting forth the principles of the Republican party and the accustomed arraignment of the opposing Democracy; and the convention formally converted itself

into a National League, it being entered upon the minutes that "The National Convention of Republican Clubs held at New York City, on December 15, 16, and 17, 1887, hereby forms a National organization and adopts the following Constitution:

I.

"The name of this organization shall be 'The Republican League of the United States.'

II.

"The League shall consist of the State and Territorial Leagues which may be duly admitted as hereinafter provided.

III.

"The objects of the League are to encourage and to assist in the formation of permanent Republican Clubs and State Leagues, to unite such clubs and leagues for effective and organized work, and generally to advance the principles of the Republican party.

IV.

"The officers of this League shall be a President, a Vice-President from each State and Territorial organization in the League, a Secretary and Treasurer all of whom shall be elected at the Convention of the League, and shall hold office until the election of their successors," etc.

Article IX. declared that "There shall be an Executive Committee composed of one member from each organization, who shall be elected by the delegates from such organization present at the Convention. The

President, Secretary and Treasurer of the League shall be *ex-officio* members of the Committee. The Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its own members or in any of the offices." And Article X. provided that "The Executive Committee shall have the general management of the affairs of the League when the Convention is not in session, and shall have control of all funds of the League, subject to the direction of the Convention. It shall have general supervision of the organization composing the League, and shall in States which have no State League, be charged with the duty of organizing new clubs, and City, County and State Leagues, wherever in its opinion advisable. The Committee shall be called together by the President of the League, immediately after the Convention and shall then organize. It shall make its own rules and shall hold meetings at such times and places as it shall determine. A meeting may be called at any time by its chairman and must be called by him when requested by ten members in writing."

But the most noteworthy part of the Constitution was that part of Article XIII. which provided that "This League shall not, in any manner, endeavor to influence the action of any National, State, County or Municipal Convention; nor shall it indicate, as a League, any preference for any candidate before any political convention, nor shall it as a League

recommend any person as an applicant for any official position."

Mr. James P. Foster, President of the Republican Club of the City of New York, was chosen first President of the League. The Secretaryship having been offered to Mr. Henry Gleason, who declined, the selection of Secretary and Treasurer was left to the Executive Committee. Subsequently Mr. Foster was requested to fill these positions by appointment, and accordingly, Mr. Andrew B. Humphrey, of the Republican Club of New York, who actively assisted in the organization of the League, was made Secretary, and ex-Governor Phineas C. Lounsbury of Connecticut, Treasurer. Vice-Presidents, one from each State were elected by the respective State delegations.

An Executive Committee was chosen in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the delegates from each State and Territory having the right to appoint one committeeman. Alabama, Indiana and a few other States deferred the selection of their representatives. The names immediately reported to the Convention by the several delegations, thus constituting the first working Executive Committee, were as follows: Arizona, A. L. Morrison; Connecticut, James A. Howarth; Dakota, Judge A. P. Guptill; Delaware, Edward Mitchell, Jr.; District of Columbia, E. N. Fox; Illinois, William W. Tracey; Iowa, J. S. Clarkson; Kansas, J. G. Slonecker; Kentucky,

Augustus E. Wilson; Maine, Joseph H. Manley; Maryland, W. W. Johnson; Massachusetts, John W. Chandler; Michigan, Junius E. Beal; Minnesota, T. E. Byrnes; Nebraska, R. W. Breckinredge; New Hampshire, Myron J. Pratt; New Jersey, E. W. Sanderson; New York, Edgar T. Brackett; Ohio, Judge John A. Caldwell; Pennsylvania, A. C. Robertson; Rhode Island, Henry W. Hayes; Tennessee, M. J. Condon; Vermont, Guy C. Noble; Virginia, J. W. Southward; West Virginia, D. P. Morgan; Wisconsin, R. M. La Follette.

Promptly on the afternoon of Saturday, December 17th, this Committee had their first meeting at the Republican Club-house, New York, President Foster in the Chair. They declared a majority should constitute a quorum, and proceeded to appoint a sub-committee of seven to discharge such details as should be resolved upon. This sub-committee, or right hand of the League, consisted of the following persons: James S. Clarkson, Chairman; A. L. Morrison, A. C. Robertson, J. A. Caldwell, E. N. Fox, E. W. Sanderson, and R. M. La Follette. The President and Secretary of the League were also members *ex-officio*. The sub-committee met immediately upon the adjournment of the larger body. Mr. Clarkson presided and E. W. Sanderson was made Secretary. The proffer of the club-house of the Republican Club of New York as temporary headquarters was accepted, and it was decided to es-

tablish a branch headquarters at Washington, with Assistant Treasurer and Statistician. The offer for this purpose, of the club-house of the Washington National Republican Club, was accepted.

Some further details of the work performed by the Republican Club of the City of New York, preliminary to the Convention, are recounted in an address of Mr. Foster delivered October 15, 1889, at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the State Club. In narrating the principal occurrences during his term as President of the Club, he refers to the organization of the League in part as follows:

"Who can depict the growth and development of the Republican League? Who can describe the earnest, zealous, untiring activity of nearly two hundred members of this club, day and night for nine months at work—money and brains, words and thoughts, letters and circulars, journeys, and work without stint, without a murmur, without a complaint? All were brought to the altar of the Club and freely given for the gigantic effort. . . . Then month by month men fell into line, and the Finance Committee of fifty was appointed, with Judge Noah Davis as Chairman and William Leary as Secretary, and William Brookfield as Treasurer; and they found willing help for this movement. The Reception Committee of the Club kept open house for sturdy and deter-

mined patriots who had come hundreds and thousands of miles to the League Convention.

With the exception of the few projectors of the enterprise in the New York Club, the full power and significance of the new League was not by any means fully understood by the convention which organized it. Two years later the *New York Tribune* declared.*

"Until recently the League had been looked upon by many political leaders as little more than an elaborate campaign organization whose existence practically ceased with the elevation of General Harrison to the Presidency. Its claims to be anything more were looked upon skeptically. This is not surprising. A majority of its own members held a similar view regarding it. Even some of its active leaders could see in the great movement only an energetic, wide-spread effort to get the party in line for the campaign.

"The idea of permanent organization apparently did not enter their minds except as a plan of something that was uncalled for and impracticable. But there has been from the beginning a strong body of workers who never for a moment lost sight of the fundamental principles of the movement, namely, a complete party organization and the education of voters in sound political principles

through the medium of the local club. To these men the League possessed a deep significance. In their judgment its continuance as a potent factor in political affairs was a necessity to the party. Starting at a time when the Democracy, strongly entrenched in power, seemed likely to control the Government for many years, the League by its irresistible energy and enthusiasm brought about a renewal of party faith and activity that ultimately resulted in the overthrow of the Democratic administration and the election of General Harrison. The splendid services rendered by the clubs have been acknowledged on all sides."

It cannot be disputed that the organization of the Republican forces accomplished by the League was a vital element in the presidential contest of 1888; and it appears unquestionable, as the *Tribune* affirms, that the League was the chief agency in inspiring the "renewal of party faith and activity that ultimately resulted in the election of General Harrison." The League when organized had included about four hundred clubs; and Mr. Foster, in his address of welcome, had confidently declared to his incredulous audience, "It is not too much to predict that within six months over 4,000 clubs will be in existence." As a matter of fact, within the specified time, Mr. Foster's figures were nearly doubled. In the single State of New York, before the Chicago convention, one thousand

* Library of *Tribune* Extras, November, 1889.

clubs had been organized, enrolling ninety thousand voters, and these numbers grew during the succeeding canvass. In the entire Union, at the close of the Harrison campaign, there were in existence at least ten thousand clubs, including nearly a million voters. In almost every State and territory State Leagues were formed, uniting and centralizing the numerous organizations in each commonwealth, and themselves in touch and communication with the national head and center of the League. By this system of ramification from one chief center, and thence, from auxilliary centers, a large percentage of all the Republican voters of the land could be reached at the smallest possible expenditure of time and money.

It was inevitable that such an organization, the most perfect and systematic in any political party in the history of the country, should be invincible unless the opposition could marshal its forces in a similar and equally effective manner. An attempt to accomplish this was made by wise Democratic leaders who comprehended the formidable nature of the new Republican movement. In July, 1888, near the beginning of the campaign, a "National Association of Democratic Clubs," answering to the National League of the Republicans, was organized, but "too late"—in the words of a Democratic circular of 1889—"for the most effective campaign work during the last presidential contest." That the Republican

victory was due to the timely organization of the National League, and the Democratic defeat to the lack of such discipline, is confessed by the authors of this circular, in their opinion that "had the active club organization of the Democracy permeated the agricultural districts, Cleveland and Thurman would have had an electoral as well as a popular majority."

In future elections it is certain that the new machinery of a system of political clubs, organized throughout the country and under central control and guidance by means of State Leagues and a national organization, must play an increasingly important part, and in such elections the result will be decided by the relative degrees of organization effected by the contending parties. This fact is receiving speedy recognition at the hands of political thinkers. Says Judge John M. Thurston: "The League bears the same relation to the Republican National Committee that the Federal Army bears to the War Department." Again, "The National League is the army of the Republican party." And again, in a letter to a friend: "In my opinion its existence and prosperity can alone keep the Republican party in power." Joseph H. Manley asserts that "The permanent club will occupy to the Republican party the relative position that the Sunday School does to the church." And ex-President Cleveland declares that "The club is the

most efficient agency ever devised for the propagation of a political doctrine."

Since its organization, the Republican League of the United States has held three conventions: At Baltimore, March 1, 1879; at Nashville, March 4, 1890; at Cincinnati, April 21, 1891. Judge John M. Thurston was nominated by Mr. Foster and unanimously elected President of the League at Baltimore, and was re-elected at Nashville. At Cincinnati, James S. Clarkson became president, and has continued to the present time. Andrew B. Humphrey, first secretary, and Phineas C. Lounsbury, first treasurer, still hold their respective offices. The character, plan, present status, significance and future outlook of this remarkable movement can not be more intelligently stated than in the words of an official pamphlet published by the organization.

"The National Republican League is a social, political body. It is neither intended nor permitted to serve the interests of individuals or factions. Nor is it designed to take the place in campaign work of the regular party organization. Its pre-eminent aim is educational. By the constant and harmonious effort of many thousands of local clubs it proposes in every community throughout the land to teach the principles of the Republican party, and to enforce upon every citizen who believes in those principles the duty of becoming an active politician.

"The League seeks in its work to touch the social instinct. It thinks by this means not only to reach large bodies of the people whose attention could not otherwise be obtained, but to get a closer view of the every day thoughts and aspirations of the Nation. Already [1891] its members constitute a full twelfth of the legal voters. Within another year it is confidently anticipated that they will constitute a full fourth. Already on its lists of membership are enrolled 1,100,000 American voters, divided into 12,000 separate organizations.

"The primary object of the League is the organization of permanent Republican clubs in every State, county, city, town and school district where it is possible to perfect a Republican organization. It is particularly desirable that it should be thoroughly understood that this organization is not to seek, or in any manner to promote the interests of any candidates prior to their nomination by the regular party conventions. The first object to keep in mind is thorough and complete party organization upon a broad, fair and liberal basis, which will bring into the ranks of the party all Republicans who may wish to become identified with it. It is particularly desirable that special efforts should be made to enlist the young men just entering upon their first political duties and men who have hitherto been more or less indifferent to the management of political affairs.



The National Magazine

James P. Foster

"Campaign clubs and legitimate campaign work are not to be disparaged—they are essential and most important in their proper place; but it is an error to suppose that mere enthusiasm is sufficient to produce the discipline and organization required to develop the full power of the party. The ideal Republican Club is an organization that maintains its activity throughout the year, and every year. Its primary object should be to enroll among its members all good Republicans within its territorial limits. It should hold a meeting at least once a month, at which a paper on some political subject should be read by a member or invited guest, or some living question discussed. It should provide a comfortable club-house or headquarters, open every evening, where the members may meet in political and social intercourse. It should found a political library (however small at first, it is sure to grow), and furnish the club-room with the current, political literature of the day, as found in the party newspapers and the magazines. It

should see that every Republican voter discharges his duty on election day.

"This brief outline of organization and work must satisfy thoughtful minds, that with this system thoroughly carried out in all the states, and with the State Leagues under the control of the National League, the working power of the Republican party will be placed upon a basis of great efficiency. With the political machinery thus provided, every part of the country will be made accessible for united and well-directed work."

It is readily seen that the possibilities of such a scheme of party organizations are boundless. The law of self-preservation will force each political party to adopt it, and to devote its entire energies to developing the system to the highest point of perfection. The present generation is not likely fully to appreciate contemporaneous events; but the future historian will look back to the Chickering Hall Convention of December, 1887, as the effective beginning of a new era in the history of political methods in America.

JAMES P. FOSTER.

James P. Foster, born at Flushing, New York, August 31, 1848, is descended, through both parents, from old American families, several members of which figured in the wars of the Revolution of 1812, and with Mexico. His grandfather on his moth-

er's side died from a wound received on the battlefield in the service of his country. From childhood Mr. Foster resided in New York City, receiving his early education from the public schools of the metropolis. After completing the high school course,

he entered the University of the city of New York, and subsequently the law department of Columbia College. From this institution he graduated with honors in 1873, taking the degree of L.L. B. Two weeks after his graduation, and shortly after his marriage to Miss Sara M. Haight, an accomplished New York lady, they went to Berlin where they resided during the next few years. A hint as to the object of Mr. Foster's visit is disclosed in the following cablegram which we extract from an old file of the *New York Tribune*:

"An American named Foster, after studying jurisprudence at the Berlin University for three years has been awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws. He passed his examination in German and Latin, and a crowded auditory comprising many learned professors and a great number of ladies were both delighted and astonished by his dissertation and his defence of his theses. Readers of Hart's 'German Universities' will appreciate the difficulties Mr. Foster had to overcome to achieve such a triumph."

It may appear odd that the graduation of an American from a German university should assume the importance of a news item of international interest, but it will not seem so when the facts in the case are known. It is generally understood that the standard of scholarship maintained in the best universities of Germany is above and beyond anything in the

curriculum of an American college; but the real extent of the difference is little known. It often occurs that American students who have the inclination and time to spare, after their graduation from an American institution, spend some time attending lectures in a German university. But it is only occasionally that one of these has the ability and perseverance sufficient to carry him through the curriculum and through the formidable examinations to receive a degree. Few even of the German students undertake this.

Mr. Foster, however, passed through this ordeal with signal distinction. A brief outline of his course and graduation will be of interest.

The university of Berlin is universally recognized as one of the most difficult in its requirements, if not the most formidable of all the universities of Europe. The studies and lectures had required from Mr. Foster six hours' daily attendance at the university during four years. At the expiration of this time, and while still attending lectures, he was required to write an exhaustive dissertation on some legal subject, which must be passed upon favorably by the faculty before he could proceed to the regular examination. At the request of the faculty Mr. Foster selected "The Public Lands of America" as his theme. The resources of the public library of Berlin were placed at his disposal, while through the kindness of Hon. Ban-

croft Davis, then United States Minister to Germany, and Mr. Nicholas Fish, secretary of the legation, American books and data of great value were placed in his possession.

At the end of the six months required in its preparation, Mr. Foster handed in his treatise, written in the German language. The faculty were occupied three months in examining and criticizing it, and then returned it with the request that Mr. Foster add to it a comparison of the land system of the United States with the "Ager Publicus" of the Romans. This was done, the young author devoting another three months to the task. When again submitted the treatise was approved by the faculty, and a Berlin publisher, learning of the work through one of the professors, made an arrangement with Mr. Foster for its publication. Foster's "Die Public Lands der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-America" was considered at the time the best authority on the subject in the German language, and the profits from its sale netted quite a revenue.

Mr. Foster was now free to take his examinations, and he announced himself ready in the spring of 1877. Two weeks before the date set for him to appear, the Emperor by royal edict had proclaimed the use of German instead of Latin in the questions and answers of the examinations. Mr. Foster had prepared himself for either language. On the appointed

day he confronted seven professors in evening dress, assembled about a round table in the University building, who one after another, during six consecutive hours plied him with difficult legal questions. At length, after retiring for a brief consultation, they re-appeared and formally congratulated the candidate, and as if by magic, a repast was brought in and all engaged in friendly conversation, toasting the health and prosperity of the young man.

But another trying ordeal yet remained before the degree could be conferred. The candidate must successfully defend five or six legal theses against several disputants in public debate, after which any one in the audience, professor, student, or the general public, might rise to debate or assail him with questions. In Mr. Foster's case, for the first time in the history of the Berlin university, if not of any German institution, the opposing disputants were two members of the faculty, Professors Dambach and Lewis, together with Dr. Joseph Thompson, a man of profound learning, formerly pastor of the Congregational church at the corner of Thirty-fourth street and Sixth avenue, New York, then residing in Berlin. The debate was to be in German, but fortunately Mr. Foster had mastered this almost as well as his native tongue.

As the hour approached, he found himself facing an audience which might well cause trepidation. On a

raised platform sat the presiding officer, Professor Berner, Dean of the Faculty. Standing on a lower platform in front, Mr. Foster faced the assembly. Before him were professors, students and citizens of Berlin, hundreds of ladies and gentlemen, all the American legation, and attaches of foreign embassies. The Dean declared that never before had he seen such an audience on a like occasion, and was especially surprised by the presence of the ladies. But the debate had been announced in the Berlin press, special interest being incited by the fact that he was an American, as also on account of the authorship of his American land system treatise. Moreover, it will be remembered that just before his departure for Germany Mr. Foster had been married to Miss Haight, an attractive and entertaining lady of unusual accomplishments. During their residence of nearly five years in Berlin, their home had become the centre of a large circle of friends, both Americans and Germans. Most of these were present to witness Mr. Foster's triumph.

After opening the debate with a brief statement of his propositions, Mr. Foster gave way to his first opponent. He replied, in turn, to the arraignment of his theses by the three opposing disputants, the debate lasting about two hours. When none of his opponents and no one in the audience had anything further to oppose, the Dean declared that Mr.

Foster had successfully maintained all the propositions laid down, and with the full ceremonies of the occasion, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, at the same time administering to him the public oath that he would never apply for, nor accept the same degree from any other institution, in any place or at any time. The diploma given, after the usual preliminary concerning "the most benign and powerful Prince William, emperor of the Germans," and some account of the Berlin University, declares in Latin, of which the following is a literal translation, that "Albert Frederick Berner, rightful Doctor and regular public Professor to the King, Dean of the Faculty of Lawyers from the inner council of the Institution, has by right conferred upon the very renowned and very learned, James P. Foster of New York, after he had properly sustained the examinations, and had publicly defended a dissertation written in the German language, 'Die Public Lands der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-America,' the highest honors and privileges, in every respect, of Doctors; and the things conferred he has proclaimed by this public diploma, with the approved seal of the Faculty of Lawyers."

Following the public discussion, occurred the characteristic German celebration, the "Doktor Schmaus," or graduation banquet. It was attended by the members of the American legation, the Professors of the

University and the personal friends of Mr. Foster, the Dean, Dr. Berner presiding. In the summer of 1877, following these events, Mr. Foster returned to America and began the practice of law in New York City, devoting himself to the specialty of Patent Law.

Soon after his return at the request of his friend, Professor Dambach of the Berlin University, Mr. Foster made a special study of the patent laws of the United States, and drafted a law for Germany, following in many respects the American law. Professor Dambach for a long period had been Royal Counsellor to the Department of the Post-office in Germany, and had been entrusted with the preparation of a law to protect patentees in Germany. Availing himself of the assistance of Mr. Foster, his friend and former pupil, Professor Dambach submitted a measure based largely upon the American law, remodelled to fit into the German system. At the suggestion of Prince Bismark this draft was incorporated in a bill, passed by the Reichstag, and made the Patent Law of Germany.

Mr. Foster's legal practice has constantly increased, is very lucrative, and has brought some of the most important cases into his hands. In politics he has always been an ardent Republican, and during the last fifteen years has taken an active part in every campaign. He joined the Republican Club of the City of New

York in 1881, and immediately became interested in strengthening and upbuilding that organization, believing that it might be made the rallying point and centre of Republican Club organizations throughout the country. In 1886 the New York Republican Club leased the Club House at 32 West 28th Street, Mr. Foster assuming all liability for the rent. The following year he was elected President of the Club. On March 17th 1887, there appeared in the *Mail and Express*, from his pen, the first public utterance suggesting a national organization of Republican Clubs. In April, 1887, he delivered his celebrated Pittsburgh address, and the newspapers announced the scheme of a national club convention and organization as "Foster's Mission." Just previous to this, April 12th, 1887, he had appointed a committee from the New York Club to undertake the execution of the plan.

The story of the organization of the Republican League of the United States has been already told. Mr. Foster was chosen its first President, and during that memorable campaign he traveled from one end of the country to the other, attending innumerable meetings and making more than 250 addresses. His time and energy were gratuitously devoted to this work, in the hope that through the agency of the new club organization the Republican party would be reinstated in power. During his presidency of the League Mr. Foster was

urged to permit the presentation of his name for official preferment, and to avail himself of his position by securing letters and club recommendations from the various auxiliaries of the League. But he refused to sanction such a plan, declaring that never should it be said that he had in any way used his office to secure personal promotion, or achieve any other object than the advancement of the Republican party.

The National League, at the outset, did not receive a very cordial welcome in some quarters, a fear existing that it would attempt to usurp the privileges and place of the regular party organization. It required time, and the demonstration of experience to convince party leaders that, as Mr. Foster had expressed it in so many of his addresses, the League stood "intermediate between the voter on the one hand and the regular party organization on the other, without attempting to overrule the free will of the one nor to usurp the power of the other." It is still Mr.

Foster's belief that the Republican League, as it brought victory to a party out of power in 1888, if kept free from internal contests and personal politics and its energies constantly directed against the common enemy, will be the agency which in 1892 will retain the Republican party in the administration of the Government of the United States.

Mr. Foster has been a member of the Union League Club since 1878, and is a member of a number of other clubs and social organizations. He holds positions as trustee and director in various corporations and institutions in New York City and elsewhere, and is a man of considerable wealth. For more than twenty years, from 1865, he was a member of the famous Hamilton Literary Society of Brooklyn, occupying every office from the presidency down, and was a member when it disbanded a few years ago and was re-organized into the present Hamilton Club of Brooklyn.

L. A. BOND.





NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Historical Society of Southern California, (Los Angeles,) held a regular meeting April 4. Mr. C. P. Dorland offered a resolution asking the appointment of a committee of the Historical Society to co-operate with the Ruskin Art Society and other societies in calling a meeting under the auspices of this Society to consider the subject of the old missions, their history and restoration. In order to advance historical interest it is proposed to arrange for a series of excursions to the different missions.

The Connecticut Historical Society (Hartford), held a meeting April 6, when it voted unanimously to raise funds for cataloguing and arranging its invaluable manuscripts. It is doubtful if any one knows the full significance, much less the details, of the vast amount of letters and other papers, unpublished, that the Society holds. The Society has done a great work in collecting, and it is welcome news that the articles of historical interest are to be re-arranged, assorted and catalogued.

The Historical Society of Delaware (Wilmington), held an interesting meeting March 21. Bishop Coleman on behalf of Mayor Willey, presented a copy of the Declaration of the King of Spain in reference to his dominions in America.

The Louisiana Historical Society (New Orleans), elected new officers at their meeting on March 28, as follows: Frank T. Howard, president; Wm. Miller Owen, secretary.

The Dedham Historical Society (Mass.), elected officers on April 11, as follows for the ensuing year: Don. Gleason Hill, president; Erastus Worthington, vice-president; John H. Burdakin, librarian; Julius H. Tuttle, corresponding secretary. The Society has enjoyed a successful year of progress. Its publication, the "Historical Register," one of the very best Society publications, has entered upon its third year. The librarian's report is interesting. It shows that during the past year 225 volumes and 431 pamphlets, many of which are rare and valuable, have been added to the library. Among the books added last year are 41 relating to New England history and 22 of genealogy. The library now contains 3500 volumes, and it is safe to say that no other Historical Society in New England is better equipped for historical and genealogical research. More than 400 people from fifteen States and two of the Territories, and also from foreign countries, have visited the historical building within the past year. This shows an historical organization of remarkable vigor.

The Danvers Historical Society (Mass.),

held its quarterly meeting March 21. A recent gift is an interesting historic picture of Washington, of life size, done in crayon and ink and giving a profile view of the "Father of his Country." It is a copy taken long ago from an original miniature for which Washington sat, and is the gift of Willard H. Brown, of Salem, and other friends of that city and neighborhood. It is regarded as one of the most precious treasures of the gallery, and a full account of it was given at the meeting.

The Maine Historical Society (Portland), held a regular meeting on March 17. The following papers were read: "The Plymouth Trading House at Penobscot," by Samuel Adams Drake. "Privateers of the Revolution," by S. P. Mayberry. Hon. Charles E. Allen, of Dresden, Maine, read an account of the Huguenots and other early settlers on the Kennebec. The Society celebrated its 17th anniversary on April 11, with a banquet at the Preble House.

The Historical Society of Winnepeg (Manitoba), have decided to make a vigorous effort to complete their collection of works relative to the Lord Selkirk era in the history of this country. For this purpose a large sum was voted, and the committee have special instructions to at once make inquiries on the London book market in refer-

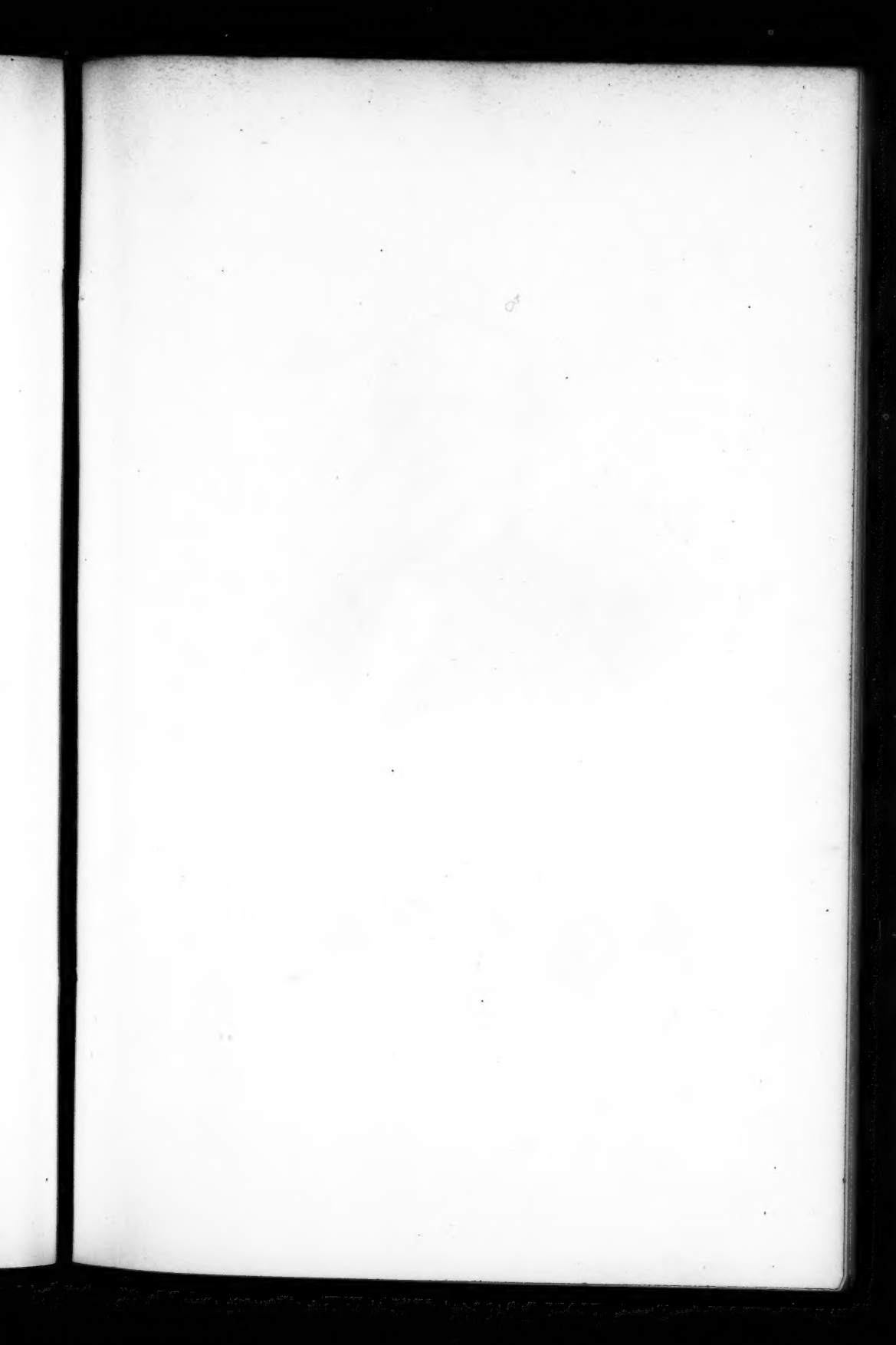
ence to several missing volumes. It is expected that perhaps some may be found in this country.

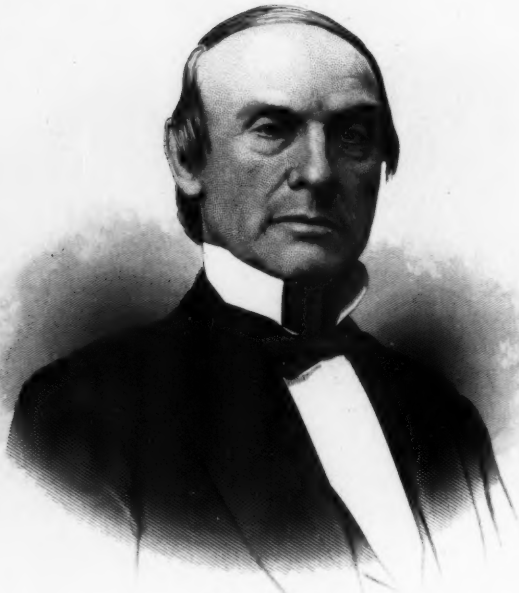
The Long Island Historical Society (Brooklyn), has been granted articles of incorporation at Albany, so that it can now receive bequests of money or articles of a historical nature, and can be held responsible as an incorporated body.

At the meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Society (Philadelphia), March 21, Howard M. Jenkins gave the fourth lecture in the course on the Colonial History of the State, entitled "The Period of Colonial Wars—1744-64."

The Washington State Historical Society (Tacoma), held a special meeting on March 23. Papers were read by Allen Weir on "Roughing it on Puget Sound in the Early Sixties," and by Edward Higgins on "The Attack on Fort Nisqually by the Snoqualmie Indians in 1849." Weir's father came from Los Angeles, California, with his family in 1860, and their early experience was in a log cabin at Dungeness. The record of early events among the pioneers there, and at Port Townsend, as well as other portions of Puget Sound, were told with the freshness of an eye witness and gave to the picture an interesting color.







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E D Taylor